

FO 371/120880

**Foreign policy of China
(Folder 2)
(1956)**

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

FC1022/19.

1956

CHINA

FROM Mr O'Neill,
PEKING.

No. 203 "S".

Dated July 5.

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References to former relevant papers

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Encloses a copy of the official
translation of the address by Premier
and Foreign Minister Chou En-lai to the
Third Session of the First National People's
Congress - June 28th, 1956.

MINUTES

Sent for print China (Vol).
The full text of Chou's speech has
already been entered at -17A.

D. C. Symon
18/7

Mr O'Neill's analysis of the speech
is very much in line with our own
reactions. As Mr Symon commented on
-17 "a suave, comprehensive, and
very capable piece of work" by Chou
En-lai.

James Munro
July 21.

I agree.

On his former passage, it is worth
48996 noting his remarks of his French Ambassador
to Taipei quoted by N. Hamilton in 1/4.

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BAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

a recent letter on the shrewdness of his appeal to the KMT, particularly his passage that the KMT & Communists had fought shoulder to shoulder in the past against imperialism, which he thought would have appeal.

There is no doubt Chen an-lai is a very able man as are his immediate staff.

Allen
5/8

etc
27/7

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CONFIDENTIAL

No. 203 "S"

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 (ROR)
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FC 1022/19.

BRITISH EMBASSY,

PEKING.

July 5, 1956.

Sir,

I have already sent you in my telegram No. 366 a summary with verbatim extracts of the speech on foreign policy made by Mr. Chou En-lai at the third session of the National People's Congress on the 28th of June. I have the honour to transmit herewith a copy of the official translation of this speech.

The annual meeting of the National People's Congress is becoming the traditional occasion for the delivery by the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs of a "keynote" speech on foreign policy, summing up the recent past and setting the tone for, at all events, the proximate future.

2. You will see that Mr. Chou En-lai first reviews the progress made in the world by the "peace-loving countries and peoples" and goes on to describe the successes and failures of the Chinese Government's policy of "promoting and developing broad contacts between China and other countries in the political, economic and cultural fields". After asserting that in spite of efforts by the United States to exclude China from participation in international affairs, China's international position has become stronger and stronger, the Prime Minister rejects emphatically the idea of "two China's". He then briefly reports on the Sino-United States talks at Geneva and ends with a fairly long passage on Formosa containing a formal offer to negotiate with the Formosan authorities. In view of the importance of the speech I shall summarise it fully in the succeeding paragraphs.

/3.

The Right Honourable Selwyn Lloyd, C.B.E., M.P.,

etc. etc. etc.,

Foreign Office.

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3. Mr. Chou En-lai starts by claiming that during the past year, thanks to the unremitting efforts of the peace-loving countries and peoples, the international situation has tended towards relaxation and the cold war policy has become increasingly unpopular. The great majority of nations now believed that peaceful co-existence was necessary and possible and more and more countries opposed military blocs. The people of Asia, Africa and Latin America were taking part in the movement against colonialism and were playing an increasingly important role. Even among countries joining the United States military blocs there were clear indications of a desire to shake off United States control. Meanwhile the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union had been continuously strengthening their solidarity and to this end the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia had strengthened their friendly relations through an exchange of visits. The Soviet Union had made untiring efforts in order to obtain agreement on disarmament and to improve its relations with Britain, France and the United States. There had been, for example, the Soviet Union's initiative in reducing its armed forces and military expenditure, there had been talks between Soviet leaders and both British and French leaders and there had been Mr. Bulganin's series of letters to President Eisenhower. China, for her part, had also made great efforts to relax international tension and to promote friendly relations with other countries. Her efforts to ease and eliminate tension in Indo-China, Korea and the Formosa area were well known.

4. Many other countries, Mr. Chou En-lai went on, were contributing to the policy of peace. India "as a great world power" was playing a particularly outstanding role and he quoted also U Nu, Chairman of the Burmese Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, President Sukarno of Indonesia and President Nasser of Egypt to illustrate the firm stands of Asian, African and other peoples in seeking and safeguarding their national independence. Successes against colonialism included the achievement of independence by the Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia. Egypt was heartily to be congratulated on its success in bringing about the withdrawal of foreign troops "and we consider that this is also a wise step by the country withdrawing its troops". The Chinese Government firmly supported the Indonesian people over West Irian, the

/Indian

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Indian people over Goa and all other Asian, African and other peoples who were defending their national rights and opposing colonialism, (there was no mention this time of "China's Macao"). The Chinese Government considered that Mr. Nehru's recent proposal for the peaceful settlement of the Algerian question was in conformity with the spirit of the Bandung Conference resolution on this subject.

5. In Western countries the cold war policy had imposed ever greater burdens of military expenditure and was jeopardising the national interests of the allies of the United States. Consequently even the Governments of those countries were coming to realise that to follow United States policies of strength would impair their own independence and sovereignty. Recent statements by British and French statesmen to the effect that world conquest by arms was out of the calculations of any but madmen, that the moment had come to end the cold war, and that Western countries should not lose any opportunity to reduce tension, were all much to be welcomed. However, these major European countries had not yet taken a far-sighted attitude and they were still uncertain whether to recognise the dependent peoples' right of national self-determination. "But the trend of history is very clear. In an era when the peoples of vast areas of Asia and Africa have already awakened, it is only by recognising the dependent peoples' right of national self-determination that those European countries may hope to retain, with the consent of the local people and on a mutually beneficial basis, certain legitimate interests in the areas concerned arising from long historical connexions; and it is only by respecting the political and economic independence of these countries that they may develop new equitable and mutually beneficial political and economic relations with them."

6. In the United States there were certain people who persisted in the cold war, but even there within the ruling circles some sober-minded people were beginning to realise that there was no future for this policy and they acknowledged the necessity of changing United States foreign policy. Unfortunately certain persons in a powerful position in the United States ruling circles "and particularly those who actually handle foreign policy" were obstructing this change. Although some leaders, including President

/Eisenhower

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Eisenhower, had said that war had become an anachronism yet the United States still exerted pressure on its allies to prevent them from reducing armaments. Although some United States leaders said that neutral countries should be respected, others asserted that non-participation in military blocs was short-sighted and even immoral. These and other contradictions show that the United States ruling circles were in an acute dilemma in which both peace and war were difficult alternatives. Up to the present the advocates of the cold war predominated and for this reason the United States was still using threats to create tension in the Far East, notably in Vietnam, in Korea and in the Formosa area. This policy could not succeed and would inevitably accelerate the tendency among the United States' allies to fall away. It was useless for the United States to expect that by arming South Korea it could intimidate the Korean-Chinese side. "The Chinese people has full confidence and sufficient strength to safeguard their fruits of victory and to defeat armed intervention from any quarter".

7. China had made constant efforts to increase contacts between herself and other countries, both those who had and those who had not established diplomatic relations with her. Contacts between the leaders of different countries were a most important measure for enhancing understanding and trust among nations. This was proved by the contacts between the Prime Ministers of China and India, China and Burma and China and Indonesia. Friendly relations between China and Egypt, China and Afghanistan and China and Nepal had also been furthered through personal contacts between their leaders. Contacts between China and Ceylon had existed for some years even in the absence of diplomatic relations and so had they between China and Egypt. Satisfactory relations had also ensued from the contacts with other Arab countries such as Syria, the Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and the Sudan. The outstanding recent case of good relations flowing from personal contact was the visit to China of Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia, as a result of which the position of peace and neutrality of Cambodia had been strengthened. China hoped to establish similar friendly relations with Laos. Less satisfactory progress had been made in promoting the normalisation of Sino-Japanese relations. Although the Japanese Government had recently adopted a

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1		2		THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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"comparatively more positive attitude" in promoting Sino-Japanese trade, it had on the whole not yet responded to Chinese initiatives. But China had now taken a further initiative, namely to deal leniently with the cases of Japanese war criminals. The Chinese Government had also promoted a large number of other measures to increase contacts and friendly relations between the Chinese and Japanese peoples and they considered that these frequent and fruitful contacts were warmly to be welcomed and that they "could not but have an increasingly marked influence on the Japanese Government".

8. After referring to the fact that in 1955 China had received more than 4,000 guests from more than 60 countries and had sent more than 3,000 representatives to more than 30 countries Mr. Chou En-lai went on to draw attention to the important of visits by members of parliament. The visit of the Japanese parliamentary delegation in 1955 had resulted in an important joint communique, and the Chinese Government warmly welcomed at the present session of the National People's Congress the Finnish parliamentary delegation and members of the Brazilian parliament. The Chinese people very much hoped to resume their contacts with neighbouring countries which had historical ties with China such as Thailand, the Philippines, Malaya and Singapore. The Chinese Government noted that the leaders of Thailand had expressed the desire to improve Sino-Thai relations and that more and more people in the Philippines were advocating the restoration of relations with China, starting with trade. They much welcomed the coming visit of Mr. David Marshall, Chairman of the Labour Front of Singapore. All this showed that the Chinese people stood for free exchange of visits. But "intercourse among nations should be reciprocal. Only in this way could it be more helpful in dispelling apprehension and augmenting mutual trust". China was a newly risen nation. They knew that a newly risen nation, "especially one which is a great power", often could not be fully understood by other countries within a short period. But "slander and instigation" would not stand the test of facts and visitors to China could see for themselves how the Chinese people were devoting themselves to peaceful construction. China desired to co-exist peacefully with all countries, including the United States and excluding no country. The Chinese Government were convinced that

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cms	Ref.:
FO 371 / 120880	
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the day would come when the Chinese and American peoples "because of their traditional friendship" would resume their ties through their respective Governments. The bamboo curtain was not on the Chinese side.

9. Another important aspect of the relaxation of tension was the development of trade and economic cooperation. Here too progress had been made and the friendly economic and technical assistance rendered to China by the Soviet Union was a splendid example of economic relations based on equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for national sovereignty. As for China's contribution she too, whether through trade with many Asian and African countries or through aid without compensation such as that given to Cambodia, had sought to promote the economic development of both parties and had not sought in the name of economic cooperation to interfere in or control other countries. China had no objection to economic aid by Western countries to economically under-developed countries but she could not approve of so-called aid with the attached condition of extorting privileges. As for the policy of embargo it was not the socialist countries which suffered but rather those countries which were forced to carry out this policy and which found that their markets had been reduced and their domestic difficulties increased. Recent attempts by these countries to break through the embargo restrictions were to be welcomed but it was necessary not only to abolish trade barriers but also to curb the actions of the Chiang Kai-shek clique instigated by the United States which jeopardised freedom of navigation by merchant vessels of different countries. Meanwhile despite many obstructions Chinese foreign trade had increased from year to year. Once the embargo was removed broad prospects would be opened up for the further expansion of trade.

10. Exchanges in the cultural field were a further important factor in the consolidation of peace. The unwillingness of certain Governments to allow cultural exchanges showed a lack of confidence on their part in their own system. Thus the United States Government had opposed a recent agreement on an exchange of visits between a Chinese art troupe and an American art troupe. China was convinced of the superiority of the socialist system in the cultural field but she recognised that she was still culturally backward

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and that she ought to learn from the good points of all other countries and not only from the good points of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies. Cultural exchanges had yielded some good results already but much more work remained to be done.

11. During the past seven years China's international position had risen to unprecedented heights and it had become more and more difficult to ignore Chinese views in international affairs. 26 countries had already established diplomatic relations with China and others maintained trade and cultural relations with her. It was already impossible for anyone to deny that the People's Republic of China existed and was growing stronger. The United States had up till now attempted to deny the Chinese people's right to choose their own state system, refused to recognise China and was trying to exclude her from international affairs. But these attempts were against the logic of history. Besides, in spite of United States non-recognition, the United States Government was holding talks at Geneva with an official Chinese representative. This showed that the real aim of the United States in refusing to recognise the People's Republic of China was to "profit by using the Chiang Kai-shek clique in bargaining with China and in creating tension." Nor had United States efforts to exclude the new China from international affairs done China any harm. They had merely damaged the prestige of the United Nations and had accelerated the tendency of many countries to fall away from the United States. Whether recognised or not by the United States China would continue to exist and to grow stronger. In the face of this situation certain people were hatching a plot to create "two Chinas" but Formosa had always been a part of China and was so regarded even by the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The Chinese people including those on Formosa would never tolerate the detachment of Formosa from the mainland. It was futile to expect China to fall into the trap of the creation of "two Chinas". Only one China existed in the world and only the Government of the People's Republic of China could represent the Chinese people. Sooner or later this would be generally recognised.

12. Mr. Chou En-lai then reported to the Congress on the situation in the Sino-American talks which have been going on at Geneva since last August.

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cms		Ref.:		FO 371 / 120880	
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He recapitulated the Chinese position, as frequently described in Chinese official statements, about the question of the renunciation of force and concluded that the United States was attempting to secure an announcement regarding the renunciation of force which would on the one hand maintain the present state of United States occupation of Formosa and on the other hand continue to interfere with the liberation of Formosa by the Chinese people. China could not agree to issue an announcement of this kind which would be of sole advantage to one side. China maintained that any joint announcement must be advantageous to both sides and that continuance of the Sino-American talks was possible only on the condition that it was advantageous to both sides. The Prime Minister made no reference in this passage or elsewhere to the position of the American civilians in China and the Chinese in the United States.

13. In his final passage Mr. Chou En-lai addressed himself to the question of Formosa whose liberation, he said, was the unshakeable common will of the Chinese people. "The Chinese Government has repeatedly pointed out that there are two possible ways for the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan (Formosa), that is by war or by peaceful means, and that the Chinese people would seek to liberate Taiwan by peaceful means so far as it is possible". At present the possibility of peaceful liberation was increasing. The international situation was more favourable and the motherland had grown stronger and had become more consolidated, thus inspiring pride in all patriotic Chinese. Chinese patriots on Formosa were unwilling to suffer any longer their life of slavery and they wanted to return to the mainland; even among the Kuomintang military and political personnel who fled to Formosa from the mainland more and more had come to realise that their only future lay in peaceful reunification. China believed that those who wished to bring about the peaceful liberation of Formosa would grow in number from day to day. The course of the Sino-United States talks at Geneva illustrated the contrasting attitudes taken by China and the United States. It was clear from these discussions that the United States regarded Formosa as its colony and that it was "playing its usual splitting tactics" to create suspicion and feuds inside Formosa. This United States policy was arousing ever stronger dissatisfaction in Formosa and many

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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FO 371 / 120880	
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people there had indicated that they would suffer no longer their life of abject dependence. The Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang members had twice fought shoulder to shoulder against imperialism. In spite of all that had happened in the last few years they could still link arms again and unite. "Now, on behalf of the Government, I formally state: We are willing to negotiate with the Taiwan authorities on specific steps and terms for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, and we hope that the Taiwan authorities will send their representatives to Peking or other appropriate places, at a time which they consider appropriate, to begin these talks with us."

14. Mr. Chou En-lai went on to repeat his declaration of last January (my despatch No. 52 of the 3rd of February) that all patriots regardless of their past actions and crimes would be treated in accordance with the principle that "patriots belong to one family" and the policy of "no punishment for past misdeeds". They would all be welcome to perform meritorious services for the peaceful liberation of Formosa and they would be rewarded according to the degree of their merits and provided with appropriate jobs. The Chinese Government had sympathy with those in Formosa who had homes on the mainland and they hoped that they might soon realise their desire of reunification with their families. In the meantime they were free to visit their relatives and friends on the mainland or to communicate with them. China hoped also that all Kuomintang military and political personnel abroad as well as in Formosa would work for the peaceful liberation of Formosa. The Chinese Government attached great importance to the positive role played by the broad masses of patriotic overseas Chinese in promoting the liberation of Formosa and they hoped that the overseas Chinese would correctly distinguish between right and wrong and would contribute to the patriotic cause. The gate of the mainland was always wide open for all patriots, who had both the right and the duty to contribute to the sacred cause of the unification of the mainland.

15. The most obviously important passage in this long speech is the formal statement that the Chinese Government is willing to negotiate "with the Taiwan authorities" on specific steps and terms for the peaceful liberation of Formosa. This has not been said before. You will notice too that although

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cms	Ref.
FO 371 / 120880	
1	2
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in speaking of Formosa Mr. Chou En-lai mentions, as he has mentioned before, that there are two possible ways of liberating Formosa - by war or by peaceful means - he goes on to address himself entirely to the question of peaceful liberation and does not utter in specific terms the threat to liberate Formosa by war if peaceful means fail. The treatment of Formosa in the speech shows marked confidence in Chinese chances of winning it over, even more marked than in the Prime Minister's report to the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in January. Whether Chou En-lai really supposes there is a chance of his invitation to negotiate being accepted is another matter; probably not. But it seems fair to conclude that for the time being the possibility of warlike liberation has been deliberately thrust further into the background.

16. There are several other interesting passages or references. Latin America's fight against colonialism is mentioned twice along with the usual and expected pats on the back to the Asians and Africans. India is once more described as a great world power playing an outstanding role for peace. The Soviet Union maintains her place at the head of the socialist countries. There is a sinister reference to China's hope of establishing relations with Laos similar to those recently established with Cambodia. Hardly less sinister is the statement that China wants to resume her contacts with other neighbouring countries such as Thailand, the Philippines, Malaya and Singapore. Japan too is courted once more and full use is made of the recent decision to deal with the cases of Japanese war criminals. For the rest there is nothing new or surprising in the remarks about the embargo, about the Sino-United States talks or about the rejection of the idea of "two Chinas".

17. What is rather surprising is the compliment to Her Majesty's Government contained in the passage quoted above about the withdrawal of troops from Egypt. This is very different language from that used about us in recent Chinese editorials about Egyptian independence. Still more interesting is the sentence about European countries retaining certain "legitimate interests" in Asia and Africa arising from long historical connexions. Here the Prime Minister must certainly have had in mind North Africa and I should think

/Cyprus

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1	2
cms	Ref:
FO 371 / 120880	
1	2
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Cyprus, Singapore and Malaya too. Whether he also had in mind Hong Kong I cannot say. Perhaps not, but the thought may have been tucked away somewhere in the recesses of his subtle mind.

18. As for the United States, naturally she came in for a good deal of censure but this time in comparatively moderate language. The United States Government is sorrowfully reproved for its shortsightedness but it is not ranted against as on some previous occasions. There is a half-compliment for President Eisenhower balanced by an anonymous slap at Mr. Dulles. The approving reference to China's traditional friendship with the United States is something new. This does not of course imply any change in Chinese policy but it probably does indicate growing Chinese self-confidence based on the belief that world opinion is moving in her favour and will move still further if she continues to adopt an apparently reasonable and peaceful attitude. The whole tone of the speech suggests that the Chinese Government is well satisfied with the results of the more moderate and conciliatory policy it has been pursuing in international affairs during the last year.

19. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow, to the United Kingdom High Commissioner at New Delhi, to the Governor of Hong Kong, to the Commissioner-General for Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in South-East Asia at Singapore and to Her Majesty's Consul at Tamsui.

I have the honour to be,

With the highest respect, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

C. Phil.

1		2		THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
cms		Ref.:		FO 371 / 120880	
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Deputies,

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During the past year, great progress has been made in increasing understanding between nations through contacts with each other. Although the United States is still unwilling to abandon its cold war policy, the great majority of nations believe that peaceful coexistence is not only necessary, but also possible. More and more countries oppose antagonistic military blocs and uphold the policy of peace and neutrality. The movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against colonialism and for independence and freedom has risen to new heights. The Asian and African countries are playing an increasingly important role in international affairs. The movement of the peoples of the world against war and in defence of peace has more and more become an important factor influencing the development of the international situation. Even among countries joining the military blocs which are headed by the United States, there have emerged clearer and clearer indications of a desire to shake off United States control and take the course of neutrality.

In the process of striving for the relaxation of international tension, the socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union have made many fruitful endeavours. In order to better safeguard the cause of peace, we socialist countries have been continuously strengthening our solidarity and mutual cooperation. Special mention should be made here of the fact that the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have restored and strengthened their friendly relations through the exchange of visits and the talks between their leaders. This is of great significance not only for the entire socialist cause, but also for the cause of peace.

The Geneva meeting of the heads of government of the four powers opened up broad avenues to the relaxation of international tension. But owing to the inflexible position of the United States which persisted in carrying on the cold war, the conference of the four foreign ministers and the disarmament talks failed to make the further contribution that they should have. In spite of this, the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies have, in the "spirit of Geneva", acted positively to implement thoroughly the policy of relaxing international tension and strengthening world peace. In order to break the deadlock on the disarmament question, the Soviet Union accepted the proposals of Britain, France and the United States concerning disarmament in two stages and the maximum limits on armed forces. After the Western powers retreated from their own disarmament proposals, the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies again took the initiative to reduce their armed forces and military expenditures so as to spur disarmament by other countries. The Soviet Union has also made untiring efforts to improve its relations with the three great powers, Britain, France and the United States. The recent talks between the leaders of the Soviet Union and Britain and those of the Soviet Union and France not only prove that it is possible to bring closer the positions of the great powers on many outstanding international questions, but also have brought to light broad prospects for the improvement of / economic

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economic and cultural relations between nations, particularly between the great powers. The influence of these talks is still spreading. The series of letters sent by Comrade N.A. Bulganin, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, to President Eisenhower of the United States, proposing the conclusion of a treaty of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the United States and putting forward new proposals on the disarmament question have already had a profound influence on the American people and throughout the world, although they have not met with due response from the United States Government. China, on its part, has also made continuous efforts for the relaxation of international tension and the promotion of peaceful coexistence among nations. Acting in the "Bandung spirit", China has widely developed international contacts in all fields so as to promote and improve its relations with many countries, particularly with the Asian and African countries. China's efforts to further ease and to eliminate the tension in Indo-China, Korea and the Taiwan area are also well known.

The many countries which do not join military blocs, particularly countries of Asia and Africa, actively participating in international affairs, have greatly strengthened the international forces of peace. These countries steadfastly uphold a policy of peace and neutrality and resolutely defend their national sovereignty. They wish to build up their own independent national economies, and therefore eagerly desire a peaceful international environment. They stand for peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation among nations, oppose so-called economic aid with conditions attached and refuse to be drawn into the whirlpool of armament expansion. As this policy is being followed by more and more countries, the area of peace is being expanded not only in Asia and Africa, but also in Europe and other parts of the world. The proposition of replacing antagonistic military blocs with a system of collective peace which does not exclude any country has increasingly assumed realistic significance. In actively advocating the five principles of peaceful coexistence and expanding the influence of the peace area, India, as a great world power, is playing a particularly outstanding role. In his foreign policy statement in the Indian Lok Sabha on March 20, 1956, Prime Minister Nehru of India said:

"We hold, and with each new experience are further confirmed in our conviction, that in the adherence to and the practice of the five principles, now widely known as the Panch Shila, alone lies the promise of a new era of international peace and stability."

This unimpeachable position has received the approval and support of all peace-loving countries and peoples, and at the same time cannot but influence certain countries which are members of military blocs headed by the United States.

In the course of opposing the cold war and striving for the relaxation of international situation, the great role of the Asian, African and Latin American peoples' struggles against colonialism and for independence and freedom should be specially mentioned. Chairman U Nu of the Burmese Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League has said: "Colonialism is the root cause of the malady afflicting the cause of peace." The victory in the struggle against colonialism and the establishment and development of new national independent states not only fulfil the national aspirations of the peoples concerned but will inevitably exercise great influence in favour of the defence of world peace. Countries which have taken their destiny into their own hands and shaken off colonial rule absolutely do not want to fall back into colonial enslavement. During his visit to the United States in May 1956, President Sukarno of Indonesia said: "We will labour at our / land

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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FO 371 / 120880	
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- 3 -

land and jungles with bare hands rather than exchange any part of our freedom for any sort of aid." He also pointed out that colonialism is "a basic cause of unrest in the world." President Nasser of Egypt also said on May 19, 1956: "We will never permit any country or any group of countries to plan our policy or consider us as a zone of influence or dictate their policies to us." Such is the firm stand of Asian, African and other peoples in seeking and safeguarding their national independence.

Following the Bandung Conference, the struggle of the Asian and African peoples against colonialism has further developed and achieved major successes. After a long struggle, the Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia have won their independence. We congratulate these new-born states and wish to establish friendly relations with them. We congratulate Egypt heartily on its success in bringing about the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egyptian soil, and consider that this is also a wise step by the country withdrawing its troops. We firmly support the just struggle of the Indonesian people for the recovery of West Irian, of the Indian people for the recovery of Goa, of the Arab peoples to win and defend their national rights, and of all the Asian, African and other peoples to oppose colonialism. We are convinced that their struggles will be victorious.

At present, in North Africa, the Algerian people are still compelled to carry out armed resistance. The Chinese people support the just struggle of the Algerian people, and at the same time cannot but be deeply concerned over the tense situation in Algeria. Not long ago, Prime Minister of Nehru of India proposed a peaceful settlement of the Algerian question, advocating the holding of peaceful negotiations and the restoration of peace in Algeria on the basis of full recognition of the national aspirations of the Algerian people. This proposal is in conformity with the spirit of the Bandung Conference resolution on the Algerian question.

As regards the Western countries, the cold war policy of many years has brought upon the peoples concerned ever heavier burdens of military expenditure. And the policy of strength advocated by the United States has first and foremost jeopardised the national interests of the United States' allies. Precisely for these reasons, the peoples of these countries have vigorously launched a struggle to safeguard peace and demand peaceful coexistence among nations. Even the governments of the major European countries participating in the Western military blocs have also come to a more acute realisation of the fact that continued pursuit of the United States policy of cold war and policy of strength will not bring them the slightest good but will only result in their own economic interests being edged out and their own independence and sovereignty being impaired. Statesmen in Britain and France have recently expressed the view that, world conquest by arms is out of the calculations of any but madmen; that the moment has come to end the cold war, to increase exchanges between East and West and to develop human contacts so as to improve reciprocal understanding; and that the Western countries should not lose any opportunity to reduce tension. These statements are to be welcomed.

However, it should also be pointed out that in connection with the extension of the area of peace and the development of national independence movements, these major European participants in Western military blocs have not yet taken a far-sighted attitude. They are still at the crossroads, uncertain as to whether to recognize the dependent peoples' right of national self-determination and respect their political and economic independence or to continue to subject them to violent suppression and economic enslavement. But the trend of history is very clear. In an era when the peoples of vast areas of Asia and Africa have already awakened, it is only by recognizing the dependent / peoples'

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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- 4 -

people's right of national self-determination that those European countries may hope to retain, with the consent of the local people and on a mutually beneficial basis, certain legitimate interests in the areas concerned arising from long historical connections; and it is only by respecting the political and economic independence of these countries that they may develop new equitable and mutually beneficial political and economic relations with them.

The overwhelming majority of the countries and peoples of the world desire peaceful coexistence; only certain people in the United States and their followers persist in the cold war. Furthermore, it is worth noting that even within the United States ruling circles, some people who are more sober-minded are beginning to realize that there is no future for the policy of cold war and the policy of strength. They cannot but see that these policies have aroused the opposition of the broad masses, and have incurred the growing dissatisfaction of the allies of the United States. They cannot but acknowledge the necessity of changing the United States foreign policy based on the policy of cold war and the policy of strength. This new recognition is to be welcomed. But certain other persons in a powerful position in the United States ruling circles, and particularly those who actually handle foreign policy, are still obstructing this change. They do not wish to see a relaxation of tension; they do not want peaceful coexistence among nations. Their sole interest is in maximum profits for United States monopoly capital; they still attempt to impose their own will on other countries through the policy of war blackmail. Therefore, although some leaders of the United States, including President Eisenhower, have said that war in our time has become an anachronism, yet in fact the United States is still exerting all sorts of pressure on its allies to prevent them from reducing their armaments, and is attempting to tighten further its political control over these countries through the military blocs. Although some United States leaders say that neutral countries which do not participate in military blocs should be respected, others assert that the policy of non-participation in military blocs is obsolete, short-sighted and even immoral. Furthermore, the United States is in actual practice still exerting all sorts of crude pressure on many countries which refuse to participate in military blocs. Certain leaders of the United States have also paid lip service to the idea that aspirations of other peoples for national independence should be respected, but in practice, through the instrumentation of the military blocs, they support and goad the other colonial powers to suppress anti-colonial movements, attempting to profit by such action. Certain leaders of the United States have also declared that international suspicion, fear and hatred should be dispelled, yet the United States Government is unwilling to lend support to broad East-West cultural exchange and visits among peoples, and furthermore they deliberately insist on the solution of certain international disputes which are difficult to settle at present as a prerequisite for the relaxation of international tension, attempting thus to block completely international contacts and international negotiation. At the insistence of its allies, the United States cannot but profess that it is considering creating necessary conditions for the strengthening of international economic cooperation and the expansion of East-West trade, yet it has not given up continued enslavement and exploitation of many countries through so-called economic aid and has refused to take any practical measures to lift the embargo. On the one hand, the United States professes to respect the right of all peoples to choose their own political institutions, but on the other, it clamours for "liberation" of the European People's Democracies and, like an ostrich hiding its head in the sand, dares not face up to the fact that the People's Republic of China exists. All this shows that the United States ruling circles are in an acute dilemma in which both peace and war are difficult alternatives; and up to the present, the advocates of the continuance of the cold war still occupy a dominating position.

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- 5 -

For this reason, the United States is still using threats to create tension in the Far East. In Vietnam, the United States openly supports the Ngo Dinh Diem clique of South Vietnam in violating the Geneva agreement provisions for holding consultations on all-Vietnam general elections and in obstructing the peaceful unification of Vietnam. In Korea, the United States has rejected the proposal of the Chinese and Korean Governments for a conference of the countries concerned to negotiate the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea and the peaceful unification of Korea. Furthermore, in disregard of the repeated efforts made by the Chinese-Korean side to safeguard the Korean Armistice Agreement, the United States has announced unilaterally that it will no longer abide by the provisions of the Korean Armistice Agreement on the functioning in South Korea of the Neutral Nations supervisory Commission. The United States has also openly indicated that it will keep its forces and exercise a so-called right of self-defence in China's territory of Taiwan and has refused to enter into serious negotiations on a peaceful settlement of the question of tension in the Taiwan area.

But today, with the international situation definitely tending to relaxation, with the broad masses demanding peaceful coexistence among nations, the policy of creating tension and practising war blackmail cannot succeed.

If the United States continues to follow the policy of cold war and the policy of strength, it will not only incur the condemnation of the peace-loving countries and peoples, but will inevitably further accelerate the tendency among its allies to fall away from the centre, thus isolating itself still further. Take the situation in the Far East for example. The United States imagines that by arming South Korea, it can intimidate the Korean-Chinese side. But the fact is that the Korean-Chinese side cannot be intimidated, and that attempts at war blackmail by the United States can only result in itself being blackmailed constantly by the Syngman Rhee clique. At the same time we should point out that if certain people in the United States should imagine that the United States can afford to precipitate yet another incident in the Far East, it can be assured that such action would not bring it any good. The Chinese people have full confidence and sufficient strength to safeguard their fruits of victory and to defeat armed intervention from any quarter.

In international affairs the Chinese Government consistent endeavour has been to safeguard world peace, strengthen and develop the solidarity and mutual help between China and the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies and, in accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, to promote and develop broad contacts between China and other countries in the political, economic and cultural fields. We have made great efforts to develop and consolidate our friendly relations with the countries which have established diplomatic relations with us. And we have not let slip any opportunity to increase contacts and improve our relations with the countries which have not yet established diplomatic relations with us. Our endeavours during the past years have yielded results.

We consider that the increasingly frequent contacts among nations have been a feature of the trend towards relaxation of international tension in the past few years, and that in their turn these contacts have been an important factor propelling this trend forward.

Contact between the leaders of different countries is a very important measure for enhancing understanding and trust among nations and easing international tension. This has been fully demonstrated in the contacts between China and many other countries. We all remember clearly that an important landmark in the development of the friendly and cooperative relations between China and India, China and Burma and China and Indonesia was the exchange of visits and the issuance of joint statements by their leaders. The Asian-African Conference furnished a

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

- 6 -

very precious opportunity for the leaders of China to make extensive contacts with the leaders of many Asian and African countries. The pleasant contacts between the Prime Ministers of China and Egypt during that Conference have led to the formal establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries a year later. The friendly relations already existing between China and Afghanistan and Nepal have also been further developed through contacts between their leaders at the Asian-African Conference. The frank conversations between the Prime Ministers of China and Pakistan during the same Conference also played an important part in increasing the mutual understanding and improving the relations between the two countries. China attaches great importance to contacts between the leaders of different countries, and we intend to make such contacts more extensively in the future.

The temporary absence of diplomatic relations between two countries is no hindrance to contacts between their governments. There are yet no diplomatic relations between China and Ceylon, but a trade agreement was signed by their Governments as early as in 1952, and a new trade agreement has been concluded every year since then.

Recently, the Ceylonese Government has expressed the desire to establish diplomatic relations with China. We welcome this expression and propose that the two countries exchange diplomatic envoys. Before diplomatic relations were formally established between China and Egypt, visits had also been exchanged between responsible members of government departments of the two countries, and moreover the two governments had concluded cultural and trade agreements. With other Arab countries like Syria, the Lebanon, Saudi Arabia and the Sudan, we have made similar contacts between governments and there have been satisfactory results. The most outstanding case is the visit to China of Prince Sihanouk of Cambodia at the invitation of the Chinese Government. During his visit, views were extensively exchanged between the leaders of the two countries and the position of peace and neutrality of the Kingdom of Cambodia received the full understanding and support of the Chinese Government. In our view, the position of peace and neutrality of Cambodia, instead of being weakened, has as a result been strengthened. We hope to establish similar friendly relations with Laos and are making efforts in this direction.

On the other hand, however, it must also be pointed out that not everything went smoothly when we took the initiative and sought official contacts with certain countries which did not have diplomatic relations with China.

The Chinese Government has more than once proposed to the Japanese Government that talks be conducted by the two Governments on the question of promoting the normalization of Sino-Japanese relations. Recently, the Japanese Government has adopted a comparatively more positive attitude in promoting Sino-Japanese trade but, as a whole, it has not yet responded to China's initiative with concrete action. Although the state of war between China and Japan has not yet been terminated, yet, taking into consideration the growth of friendly relations between the Chinese and Japanese peoples and Japan's present position, the Chinese Government has now taken the initiative to deal -- in accordance with the policy of leniency and each according to its merits -- with the cases of the Japanese who committed crimes during the war and had long been held in custody for their cases to be examined. Prosecution of the great majority of them has been waived and they are being repatriated in groups. A few Japanese guilty of serious crimes were given lenient sentences and it was decided that if they showed good conduct while serving their sentences, they could be released before the completion of their terms. The way the Chinese Government dealt with these Japanese who committed crimes during the war is fully in line with what we had indicated to our Japanese friends who came to visit China. The Chinese Government is making these unremitting efforts because we have correctly assessed the strong desire of the Chinese and Japanese peoples for peaceful coexistence and friendly contact with each other and for early restoration of normal relations

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- 7 -

relations between the two countries.

In the past several years, the number of Chinese and Japanese people making visits to each other's country has grown steadily and the scope of contacts has widened. In 1955, the number of Japanese friends who visited China amounted to more than 800, the greatest number from any country. In spite of various difficulties, the number of Chinese representing different popular organizations who visited Japan by invitation has also increased, amounting in 1955 alone to about 100. What is particularly worth noting is that Chinese and Japanese peoples' organizations have settled certain matters of common interest through direct contact and negotiation. Since 1952, a total of 15 agreements and joint communiques have been signed by people's organisations of China and Japan. These concern trade, fisheries, residents in each other's country and the question of friendly cooperation in many fields; and the implementation of these documents has been encouraging. These frequent and fruitful contacts between the peoples of China and Japan are warmly welcomed and supported by the Chinese Government; and they cannot but have an increasingly marked influence on the Japanese Government.

The contacts between the Chinese people and other peoples play an important role in the development of friendly relations between China and other countries. In 1955, we received more than 4,000 guests from more than 60 countries, representing an over 60% increase as compared with 1954. These foreign guests included representatives of different spheres of activity: parliament, political parties, business, culture, arts, trade unions, youth, women, science, education, public health, religion, physical culture, the press, etc. On the other hand, China sent more than 3,000 representatives last year to more than 30 countries to pay friendly visits and strengthen economic and cultural contacts. The number of people we will be host to and the number going abroad this year will continue to increase.

It is particularly worth noting that the exchange of visits between delegations and members of parliament has become a more and more important form of contact between the peoples of different countries. We received a Japanese parliamentary delegation, during whose visit, an important joint communique was issued by the parliamentary groups of China and Japan. During the present session of our National People's Congress, a Finnish parliamentary delegation has come, upon our invitation, to visit our country and has honoured us by attending and addressing our meeting today. Their visit to China has opened up a new avenue of friendly exchanges between China and Finland and the other North European countries. Not long ago, members of the Brazilian parliament also visited our country and attended our session -- a new development in our friendly contacts with the peoples of Latin American. Last year, we also received deputies of the French National Assembly. Their visit played an important role in expanding our relations with the West European countries.

The Chinese people very much hope to resume their contacts, which had been severed for a time, with neighbouring countries which have historical ties with us such as Thailand, the Philippines, Malaya and Singapore. We have long expressed this desire, and have made efforts towards its realization. We are happy to note that leaders of Thailand have expressed the desire to improve Chinese-Thailand relations, and that in the Philippines also, more and more people are advocating the restoration of relations with China, starting with trade. We also very much welcome Mr. David Marshall, Chairman of the Labour Front of Singapore, who is coming to visit China on our invitation.

The extent of the contacts already made by China with many countries and the fact that it is prepared to make even greater efforts in the
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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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FO 371 / 120880	
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future fully prove that we Chinese people stand for free exchange of visits among peoples of different countries. But intercourse among nations should be reciprocal. Only in this way, can it be more helpful in dispelling apprehension and augmenting mutual trust.

China is a newly risen nation. We know that a newly risen nation, especially one which is a great power, often cannot be fully understood by other countries within a short period, and frequently arouses apprehension. If to this fact are added calculated slander and instigation by certain quarters, such lack of understanding and such apprehension could even be aggravated. But slander and instigation will not stand the test of facts, and lack of understanding and apprehension can also be removed through observation and actual contact over a comparatively long period. In this conviction, we have always welcomed people of all walks of life from all countries to visit China and have tried our best to meet their requirements during their visits. We do not exaggerate our achievements, nor do we hide from them our shortcomings. We hope that by observing the concrete process through which the Chinese people are moving from backwardness to an advanced state, they will see that the Chinese people have oriented themselves in the direction of peaceful construction and that they urgently desire peace. What we seek is not praise but mutual understanding and trust. We also sincerely hope that, without reservation, our guests will point out our shortcomings so that we can improve our work. It is possible that some among those who originally harboured suspicions about us will retain their suspicions. We will not be disappointed at this, for we are convinced that through continued observation and contacts they will gradually understand us better. We certainly welcome a change in the attitude of those who were originally prejudiced against us or hostile towards us, but if they retain their original attitude, it would be no loss to us.

In expanding its contacts with other countries, China proceeds from the desire to coexist peacefully with all countries, including the United States and not excluding any country. We are against placing our friendly relations with certain countries on the basis of excluding other countries. Even towards the United States, we have the same desire for friendly relations. It is our view that outstanding disputes between China and the United States should not be an obstacle to friendly contacts between the Chinese and American peoples. Furthermore, we are deeply convinced that the day will come when the Chinese and American peoples, because of their traditional friendship, will resume their ties through their respective governments.

Facts are more eloquent than words. The iron curtain or bamboo curtain is not here on our side. Nor is it we who have imposed political conditions or adopted such humiliating measures as fingerprinting to obstruct contacts among the peoples of different countries. We do not need these restrictions. And all such restrictions cannot last long. No force can stand in the way of the peoples' desire to have free exchanges and friendly contacts with each other.

An important aspect of the relaxation of international tension and the promotion of peaceful co-existence is the development of trade and economic cooperation among nations. Although on a world scale the state of international trade and economic cooperation is still far from normal, yet we see that more and more countries are developing their mutual economic relations in accordance with the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for national sovereignty. On the other hand, the practice of enslavement and exploitation under the guise of economic aid, and of erecting artificial barriers in international economic relations are faced with increasingly strong opposition.

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FO 371 / 120880	
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- 9 -

Equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for national sovereignty are principles not only firmly adhered to by the socialist countries in their mutual economic cooperation and in their economic cooperation with other countries, but also affirmed in the resolution on economic cooperation adopted at the Asian-African Conference. Along these principles, economic relations of a new type have been established among the socialist countries. The friendly economic and technical assistance rendered to China by the Soviet Union is a splendid example of this type of relations. The economic cooperation which the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries have developed with many Asian and African countries in accordance with these principles also presents features without precedent in history. Take China as an example. In our economic cooperation, whether through trade such as with many Asian and African countries, or through aid without compensation such as with Cambodia, our aim is to promote the economic development of both parties. We have no surplus goods which need to be dumped on other countries. We have no economic crisis which we need to shift onto the backs of others. We do not seek, in the name of economic cooperation, to interfere in or control other countries, or to impose on them military, political or economic obligations to the detriment of their interests.

China is a recently liberated country. Our economy is still very backward. We have not yet achieved full economic independence. Therefore, our economic strength is limited, and it is mainly through trade that we carry out economic cooperation with other countries. Yet, realizing the importance of economic independence to the consolidation of political independence, we are also willing, even while engaged in our own economic construction, to contribute what little we can to assist in the economic development of other countries. We have no objection to economic aid by the Western countries to economically under-developed countries. But we cannot approve of their so-called aid with the attached condition of extorting privileges. If the Western countries would also enter into economic cooperation with other countries in conformity with the principles which we abide by, it will have a very beneficial influence not only on the economic development of all the countries concerned, but also on the improvement of the whole international situation.

In developing international trade, the principles which we firmly adhere to are equality, mutual benefit and mutual supplementation. The trading of rice for rubber between China and Ceylon is a fresh example of this. We are opposed both to the policy of trade embargo which forcibly severs the traditional economic ties between nations, and to trade by dumping or other means which is advantageous to one side alone.

Facts have proved that those who suffer from the policy of embargo are not the socialist countries against which this policy is directed, but above all those countries which are forced to carry out this policy. The socialist countries have ensured their common economic upsurge through their own efforts and mutual support. But the countries which are forced to implement the policy of embargo are finding that their own markets have been greatly reduced and their domestic economic difficulties aggravated. Recently, these countries have been trying to break through the embargo restrictions. This is understandable and is also to be welcomed. But, in order to effectuate the breakdown of the embargo and the development of trade, it is necessary not only to abolish all kinds of artificial international trade barriers, but also to curb effectively actions of the Chiang Kai-shek clique instigated by the United States which jeopardize the freedom of navigation of merchant vessels of different countries. Despite the many obstructions imposed from without, China's foreign trade has increased in recent years from year to year. In 1954, 47 countries and areas were trading with China, and in 1955, the number rose to 62. China's trade in 1955 with the Asian and African countries and the Western countries increased by 28.2% over / that

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- 10 -

that of 1954. We believe that once the embargo is removed, with the rapid development of China's domestic construction, broad prospects will be opened up for the further expansion of China's trade with other countries.

Exchange in the cultural field among the peoples of different countries, like cooperation in the economic field, is an important factor contributing to the consolidation of peace, friendship and cooperation among nations. Historically, the peoples of different countries have always enriched and advanced their cultures through learning from one another and drawing on each other's fine qualities. But now the governments of certain countries are opposed to and are preventing the cultural exchange of their own peoples with peoples of countries having different social systems. This can only be interpreted as reflecting loss of confidence in their own system. For instance, an agreement has been reached between a Chinese art troupe and an American art troupe on the exchange of visits and performances, which is clearly in conformity with the desire of the peoples of the two countries. But owing to the opposition of the United States Government, this agreement has not up to now been implemented. We are convinced of the superiority of the socialist system. We have not the slightest doubt that under the socialist system, the natural and social sciences, philosophy, literature and the arts in our country will have the speediest and broadest development. But on the other hand, judging by modern standards, China is still a culturally backward country. We should recognize that every people has its own merits. We should not only learn from the good points of the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies, but also draw on the good points of all other countries. This will only accelerate China's socialist construction and will bring to us no harm whatever. Therefore, we do not at all fear, but on the contrary fully welcome broad cultural exchanges with all countries. In fact, cultural exchanges are desired by all peoples. To prove this point, I need only mention the enthusiastic welcome extended to the art troupes of our country and of other countries during their mutual visits. Cultural exchanges, as a means of enhancing mutual understanding between all peoples and promoting international cooperation, have already yielded first results, but much more work remains to be done. China, on its part, will not spare any effort in this respect.

During the past seven years, the Chinese people have achieved tremendous successes in the peaceful construction of their country. Our motherland is being transformed step by step from a poverty-stricken, backward agricultural country into a prosperous and powerful socialist industrial country. At the same time, China's international position has risen to unprecedented heights. China is playing an ever more important role in promoting the development of the entire international situation. It has become more and more difficult to ignore China's views in the settlement of many major international issues.

At present, 26 countries with an aggregate population in excess of one thousand million have already established diplomatic relations with our country. Still more countries and broader masses of people are maintaining trade and cultural relations with us. Clearly, it is already impossible for anyone to deny the reality that the People's Republic of China exists and that it is growing ever stronger.

True, the United States is up to now still attempting to deny the Chinese people's right to choose their own state system, refusing to recognize the People's Republic of China and trying hard to exclude New China from participation in international affairs. However, as history has proved, budding forces which have broken through the old system will eventually grow mighty in spite of all obstructions.

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- 11 -

This was the case with the American War of Independence against colonial rule, with the French bourgeois revolution which overthrew feudal rule, and also with the Russian October Socialist Revolution which wiped out capitalist rule from one sixth of the earth's surface. Those who today refuse to recognize the new China had better review these historical facts.

Actually, although the United States does not recognize the People's Republic of China, a representative of the United States Government is nevertheless holding talks at Geneva with a representative of the Chinese Government. It is not difficult to see from this apparent contradiction that the real aim of the United States in refusing to recognize the People's Republic of China is to profit by using the Chiang Kai-shek clique in bargaining with China and in creating tension.

The strenuous efforts of the United States to exclude new China from participation in international affairs have not caused China any harm. On the contrary, by obstructing the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate position and rights in the United Nations, the United States has damaged the prestige of the United Nations and made it impossible for the Organisation to play effectively the role envisaged by its Charter. The United States has also aroused the dissatisfaction of many countries by forcing them to refrain from establishing diplomatic relations with China, and accelerated their tendency to fall away from the United States. As for China, regardless of recognition or non-recognition by the United States, it will all the same exist and develop with growing strength, its contacts with other countries will further increase, and its international position will further rise.

In the face of such undeniable and powerful facts, certain people are hatching a plot to create "two China's". They are vainly attempting to describe Taiwan as another China or as a separate independent state. But these vain attempts can only be interpreted as a sign of losing one's senses in the face of powerful facts. Taiwan has always been a part of China. Solemn international agreements have also long affirmed that Taiwan belongs to China. Even the Chiang Kai-shek clique also admits that Taiwan belongs to China. All Chinese people, including those on Taiwan, will never tolerate the detachment of Taiwan from their motherland.

Those who vainly seek to create "two Chinas" recognize that it is becoming more and more difficult to continue to exclude the People's Republic of China from international organizations and conferences. Therefore, they are attempting to create beforehand a state of "two Chinas" in international organizations and conferences. The Chinese people long ago saw through this plot. It is futile to hope that China would fall into this trap. International organisations and conferences are only one means of effecting international exchanges and contacts. China will not find it any more difficult to expand its contacts and connections with other countries because of its being excluded from international organizations and conferences.

Only one China exists in the world. Only the Government of the People's Republic of China can represent the Chinese people. We believe that sooner or later this fact will receive general recognition. The sooner this day arrives, the sooner will normal international relations be restored.

Now, I should like to report to the Congress on the situation in the Sino-American talks.

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- 12 -

After agreement was reached on the return of civilians of both sides at the Sino-American ambassadorial talks in Geneva on September 10, 1955, the two sides entered into discussions on the question of renunciation of force. Up to now, nearly ten months have elapsed, but no agreement has yet been reached.

The Chinese side is not against the issuance jointly with the United States of an announcement on mutual renunciation of the use and threat of force in Sino-American relations. In fact, as early as during the Bandung Conference, China declared that the Chinese people do not want war with the United States and that the Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government on the question of easing and eliminating the tension in the Taiwan area. However, it must be pointed out that the tension in the Taiwan area was entirely created by the United States occupation by force of China's territory of Taiwan. Therefore, any announcement concerning the renunciation of the use of force between China and the United States must be capable of leading to the relaxation and elimination of the tension, and must not imply acceptance of the present state of the United States occupation of Taiwan. At the same time, the question as to what means will be used by China to liberate Taiwan is entirely a matter of China's sovereignty and internal affairs, in which no outside interference will be tolerated. Therefore, a Sino-American announcement should in no way allow interference in this matter.

On the basis of the foregoing principles, the Chinese side has proposed two different forms for the announcement. If a statement is to be specifically included in the Sino-American announcement that the dispute between the two countries in the Taiwan area will be settled through peaceful negotiations without resorting to force, then it must also be explicitly provided that a Sino-American conference of the Foreign Ministers be held so as to implement this statement. Such is the draft put forward by the Chinese side on October 27, 1955. Alternately, China and the United States may first issue an announcement of principle that the disputes between the two countries will be settled by peaceful means without resorting to force, and then the ambassadors of the two countries would continue their talks to seek concrete means of realizing this common desire of the two sides. Such is the December 1, 1955 draft of the Chinese side. Recently, taking into consideration the view of the American side, the Chinese side again proposed on May 11, 1956 that while declaring in the announcement that the disputes between the two countries in the Taiwan area will be settled peacefully without resorting to force, the two countries should also lay down the provision that, within a definite period of the issuance of the announcement, they must seek and ascertain the means for the realization of this desire, including the holding of a Sino-American conference of the Foreign Ministers. However, in spite of these proposals, the American side is still unwilling to come to an agreement.

Although the United States suggested that the principle of renunciation of force should be made specifically applicable to the Taiwan area, yet it is against providing for the holding of a Sino-American conference of the Foreign Ministers to realize this principle, and even refuses to agree to seek and ascertain, within a definite period of time, the means of settling peacefully the disputes between China and the United States. In addition, the United States even insists that it has a so-called "right of individual or collective self-defence" on China's territory of Taiwan. All this indicates that the United States is attempting to secure an announcement of sole advantage to itself, so that it could on the one hand maintain the present state of its occupation of Taiwan and, on the other hand, continue to interfere with the liberation of Taiwan by the
/ Chinese

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- 13 -

Chinese people. If it could not secure such an announcement, the United States would then attempt to drag out indefinitely the Sino-American ambassadorial talks in order to attain the same objective of freezing the status quo in the Taiwan area.

These attempts of the United States are precisely what blocks an agreement in the Sino-American talks up to now. China cannot agree to issue an announcement of sole advantage to one side; nor can it tolerate the use of the Sino-American talks by one side as a tool to achieve its unilateral aims. China maintains that any joint announcement must be advantageous to both sides, and that continuance of the Sino-American talks is possible only under the condition that it is advantageous to both sides.

Finally, I wish to say something on the question of the liberation of Taiwan about which we are all concerned.

The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. This is the unshakable common will of the 600 million people of China.

The Chinese Government has repeatedly pointed out that there are two possible ways for the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, that is, by war or by peaceful means, and that the Chinese people would seek to liberate Taiwan by peaceful means so far as it is possible. There is no doubt that if Taiwan can be liberated peacefully, it would be best for our country, for all the Chinese people and for Asian and world peace.

At present, the possibility of peacefully liberating Taiwan is increasing. This is first of all because the international situation is now definitely tending towards relaxation, and the United States armed occupation of Taiwan and interference in China's internal affairs are opposed by more and more peace-loving countries and peoples. As regards our internal situation, our great motherland has grown even stronger and become even more consolidated. It is inspiring more pride in all patriotic Chinese than ever before. At present, our compatriots on Taiwan who have a revolutionary tradition are unwilling to suffer any their bitter life of slavery and want to return as soon as possible to the embrace of the motherland; and even among the Kuomintang military and political personnel who have fled to Taiwan from the mainland, more and more people have come to realize that their only future lies in the peaceful reunification of their motherland. Since we issued the call to strive for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, many Kuomintang military and political personnel in Taiwan and abroad have expressed their patriotic aspirations. We believe that those who wish to bring about the peaceful liberation of Taiwan and the complete unification of our motherland will certainly grow in number from day to day. This will be an inexorable trend.

The trends are very clear. The state in which the Taiwan authorities following the behest of the United States, are maintaining a feeble existence, definitely cannot last for long. The foreign forces which they follow are by no means reliable. On the contrary, by inviting the wolf into the house, they would not only lose everything they have, but also be in constant danger of being treacherously stabbed in the back or abandoned. An important lesson can be drawn from a comparison of the contrasting attitudes taken by China and the United States in the Geneva talks. The Chinese Government has consistently maintained that only the international dispute between China and the United States in the Taiwan area can be discussed and settled by China and the United States; as for the question of the return of Taiwan to the motherland, regardless of the means by which it is realized, this is a question which can only be settled and definitely can be settled by us Chinese people, and no foreign interference will be tolerated. The United States, however, has adopted a totally different attitude in / the

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- 14 -

the talks. It regards Taiwan as its colony and makes use of it to bargain with China. It can also be seen that the United States has not only occupied Taiwan and extended its control into every sphere in Taiwan -- political, military, economic and cultural, but is also playing its usual splitting tactics to create suspicion and feuds inside Taiwan, attempting thus to strengthen its control and to profit thereby. However, these tactics of the American aggressive forces to make fools of the Chinese people, interfere in China's internal affairs and disrupt China's national unity have aroused ever stronger dissatisfaction among the Kuomintang military and political personnel on Taiwan. Many of them have indicated that they will suffer no longer their life of abject dependence, at the beck and call of others. They want to enhance national self-respect, defend national dignity, free themselves from American control and handle domestic matters in an independent spirit. We welcome this patriotic stand of theirs.

We have consistently stood for national solidarity and united resistance against external enemies. In the interest of our great motherland and our people, the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang members have twice fought shoulder to shoulder against imperialism. After the conclusion of the war against Japanese aggression, we also made efforts to bring about internal peace. Even during the Chinese war of liberation when the Chinese people were forced to take up arms, and even after the mainland was liberated, we have never given up our efforts for peaceful negotiations. Although in the past few years, owing to American armed intervention, we and the Kuomintang military and political personnel on Taiwan have taken different paths, yet so long as we all hold supreme the interests of our nation and motherland, we can still link arms again and unite. We believe that our great nation which experienced long years of suffering, will certainly be able through our own efforts to accomplish the complete unity of our motherland.

Now, on behalf of the Government, I formally state: We are willing to negotiate with the Taiwan authorities on specific steps and terms for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, and we hope that the Taiwan authorities will send their representatives to Peking or other appropriate places, at a time which they consider appropriate, to begin these talks with us.

In order to unite all patriotic forces to realize at an early date the complete unification of our motherland, I wish here to declare once again that all patriotic people, regardless of whether they joined the patriotic ranks earlier or later, and regardless of how great the crimes they committed in the past may have been, will be treated in accordance with the principle that "patriots belong to one family" and the policy of no punishment for past misdeeds; they are all welcome to perform meritorious services for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, and will be duly rewarded according to the degree of their merits and provided with appropriate jobs.

Our compatriots in Taiwan have always been an inseparable part of the Chinese people. We not only have constant concern for them and support them in various ways in their struggle against foreign rule, but also stand ready to welcome them at any time to participate in the socialist construction of the motherland and to share the glory of our nation.

We appreciate the situation in which all the Kuomintang military and political personnel on Taiwan whose homes are on the mainland find themselves, and we hope that they may soon realize their desire of reuniting with their families. They can communicate with their relatives and friends on the mainland; they can also return to the mainland for short visits to their relatives and friends. We are prepared to give

/ them

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- 15 -

them all kinds of convenience and assistance.

We hope the responsible Kuomintang military and political personages on Taiwan will play an important role in the cause of the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. So long as they work in this direction, their future position will be definitely assured. If they still harbour doubts, they can obtain clarification through their relatives and friends on the mainland or send people to the mainland to ascertain what the situation is. We guarantee the latter's freedom of movement in coming and going.

We hope the Kuomintang military personnel on Taiwan will actively expedite the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. If they do so, they will surely earn the confidence and care of the motherland and the people. The treatment accorded to those commanders and soldiers who came over peacefully on the mainland is a precedent.

We also hope that all Kuomintang military and political personnel who are abroad will work for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. Only thus can they escape the fate of leading the life of exiles in foreign lands, looked down upon by others.

We attach great importance to the positive role played by the broad masses of patriotic overseas Chinese in promoting the cause of the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. We hope that those few overseas Chinese who used to maintain or still maintain a hostile attitude towards the motherland will distinguish between right and wrong, see the direction in which events are moving, and, together with the broad masses of patriotic overseas Chinese, contribute towards the patriotic cause of the peaceful liberation of Taiwan.

The gate of the motherland is always wide open for all patriots. Every Chinese has both the right and the duty to make his contribution to the sacred cause of the unification of the motherland. With the unity of the entire nation and the efforts of all our people, the liberation of Taiwan will certainly be consummated.

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1956

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

CHINA

FC 1022/20.

FROM PEKING.

No. 1018/43/56.

Dated 12/7/56

Received in
Registry— 24/7/56.

References to former relevant papers

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-117.

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84
16/8

15/10/57

References to later relevant papers

Chinese dislike of "Two Chinas" for Formosa.

Encloses a copy of an article in the "People's Daily", which embroiders Chou En-lai's remark that the "Two Chinas" scheme is a futile plot.

MINUTES

You may have seen this article already
in the NCNAJ. E. Symon
9/8

17 15/8.

FORD (China)

I missed the Confess Prime Minister's
remarks but I cannot think of any
other reason why "Observer" should
have chosen this moment to reiterate
his dislike of "two Chinas".A. H. Hall
8/8

This seems likely.

C. R.
9/5

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CONFIDENTIAL
1018/43/56

FC1022/20

BRITISH EMBASSY,

PEKING.

July 12, 1956.

Dear Department,

The Chinese from time to time voice their dislike of the "two Chinas" solution to the problem of Formosa. In his recent foreign affairs report to the National People's Congress (Peking despatch No. 203 "S" of July 5) Chou En-lai stated that the Chinese people would not tolerate the detachment of Formosa from their motherland and called the "two Chinas" scheme a futile plot. His remarks were embroidered in an article by Observer in the "People's Daily" of July 8, of which we enclose a translation.

There seems to be no very strong reason for Observer to take up the theme just now. However, the reference to "far-sighted Asians" suggests that the article may be aimed at Mr. Bandaranaike, whose recent remarks in favour of "two Chinas" were reported without comment in the People's Daily. The authorities may wish to ensure that their own view is not ignored at a time when they reckon that Governments have under consideration their line on Chinese representation at the next General Assembly of the United Nations.

We are sending copies of this letter and enclosure to the Chanceries at Singapore, Washington and Ukdal New York, and to the Consulate at Tamsui.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

AAC

Far Eastern Department,
Foreign Office.

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People's Daily, Peking, July 8th, 1956.

THE CREATION OF THE SO-CALLED "TWO CHINAS"
CERTAINLY CANNOT BE TOLERATED.

The United States ruling clique has consistently endeavoured to deny the existence of the People's Republic of China and aimed at ousting China from international affairs. The United States has, however, done herself no good by this behaviour. The People's Republic of China has not vanished from the earth in the absence of United States recognition, but on the contrary has become more powerful and strong. The United States policy of blockading China has not isolated China but on the contrary more and more nations have recognised her and established trade and cultural relations with her.

Reality is relentless. Some people in the United States ruling clique now cannot but admit that the policy of blockading China has failed and that continued persistence in the policy simply serves to isolate the United States herself.

Nevertheless, there is still a group of people who vainly attempt to conjure up the so-called "two Chinas" in a vain endeavour to get the United States policy towards China out of its impasse. Certain people have also supported this "two Chinas" idea; they consider that recognising two Chinas is by no means unthinkable. Some people, although maintaining that China's lawful position in the United Nations should be restored, still consider that Chiang Kai-shek's clique should be permitted to remain in the United Nations, thus in effect legalising "two Chinas".

We should make it crystal clear that this way out is no way out. As Chou En-lai, Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs, pointed out at the 3rd session of the 1st National People's Congress, "such vain attempts can only be interpreted as a sign of losing one's senses in the face of powerful facts". Taiwan constitutes a part of China; this is a historical fact, more than 1,000 years old, and is also a fact which the United States Government once admitted. The people of China are determined not to permit the United States to separate Taiwan from China. The will and determination of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan is absolutely unshakeable.

The peace-loving people and those who fight for independence and freedom throughout the world are similarly determined not to permit the creation of the so-called "two Chinas". The occupation of China's Taiwan by the United States is the root of tension in the Far East. The occupation of Taiwan by the United States is meant to be an armed threat directed against the Chinese people in their struggle for independence. Should the United States be permitted to occupy Taiwan indefinitely under the so-called "two Chinas" scheme tension in the Far East can never be relieved.

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Those who support the so-called "two Chinas" idea can be divided into two groups. One consists of those who support the United States policy of aggression against China. Not only do they verbally concur with and speak up for the United States, but their actions are also calculated to promote the so-called "two Chinas". This group of people does not hope for a relaxation of Far Eastern tension and is afraid of the profound effect of China's independence. They are fishing in the troubled water of American made tension and hope to get something out of it.

The second group starts out with good intentions. They realise that tension in the Far East derives from the occupation of Taiwan by the United States. They hope to ease tension in the Far East but lack the necessary confidence in the strength of the Asiatic people themselves. They want an easy way out and they hope to maintain the status quo for the sake of a compromise which cannot last; they prefer to shirk their responsibilities for the sake of a fool's paradise. They have, however, overlooked the fact that the status quo of aggression against another country should not and cannot be maintained, and that it is still worse to allow the legalisation of that status quo. Support for the "two Chinas" plot will not only not ease and lift tension in the Far East but can only serve to keep the root of tension alive indefinitely. This is most damaging to the cause of peace.

Nowadays, all far sighted Asians should realise that Asia has undergone great changes and the peoples of Asia have awakened. So long as they rely on the strength of the people and fight for the interest of their own nation and people the statesmen will find that no task is insuperable. The Chinese people are now fully confident in the liberation of their own territory of Taiwan and in upholding their own sovereignty and independence. The Asian people are also strong enough to defend peace in Asia. The plot to create "two Chinas" and maintain tension in the Far East must be frustrated.

As for the United States, if she really dares to face squarely the reality of the world and China, she will realise that hatching "two Chinas" will not lift her China policy out of its impasse. Failing this she will continue to bump from side to side in the cul-de-sac she has got herself into.

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

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C1022/21

1956

CHINA

FROM H.M. Consul,
TamsuiExtract from China news dated
Taipei August 18, 1956.

No. 1063

Dated 18 August, 1956

Received in
Registry—

3/9

Peiping's new peace advice news;
Huang urges attention.

(Copies Cherry Washington and Peking.)

References to former relevant papers

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(Index)

NY 6/9

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15/10/57

References to later relevant papers

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

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August 18, 1956.

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Far Eastern Department,
Foreign Office.
With the compliments of

Her Majesty's Consul.

Copied to:- Chancery, Washington

" Peking.

British Consulate,

Tamsui, Formosa.

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C1022/21

Extract from China News dated Taipei August 18, 1956.

PEIPING'S NEW PEACE DRIVE SEEN; HUANG URGES ALERTNESS

A top government official warned yesterday of another peace offensive by the Chinese Communists which might include overtures for peace talks with the Nationalist government and a sudden backdown by Peiping to meet American's demand in the Geneva parley.

Vice Premier S.K. Huang predicted the Chinese Reds might come out with a string of renewed peace campaigns during their "Eighth People's Congress" to be called in Peiping September 15.

Addressing a convention of the Chinese Newspaper Publishers Association, Huang said Peiping might wage a drive calling for a "third-time cooperation between the Nationalists and Communists" to undermine the anti-Communist will of the Free Chinese and drive a wedge between the Republic of China and the United States.

Peiping might even make great concessions in Geneva including an agreement to the United States demand for "denouncing the use of force" in the Taiwan Straits and the release of American prisoners now detained on the China mainland, Huang predicted.

He said the Chinese Communists would use these two conditions as baits for a "foreign minister" level conference with the United States to force on Washington a de facto recognition of the Peiping regime. Huang also foresaw Peiping would step up its propaganda abroad to lure overseas Chinese who now stand against the Communists.

Commenting on Peiping's recent move to permit American newsmen into the bamboo curtain, Huang said the Chinese Communists were conniving to shoot the so-called "China question" into the American elections next November. The Reds attempted to soften American public opinions against recognition and a United Nations seat by "dazing" American newsmen with false propaganda and soft-pedal approaches, Huang added.

On the future of the global anti-Communist fight, Huang urged for complete solidarity and a firm stand by the free world. Only through a firm will backed by strength can the West expect to win victory over totalitarianism, he declared. He said Free China would never flinch from her determined anti-Communist position whatever the changes of international situation might be.

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C1012/11

Extract from China News dated Taipei August 18, 1956.

PEIPING'S NEW PEACE DRIVE SEEN; HUANG URGES ALERTNESS

A top government official warned yesterday of another peace offensive by the Chinese Communists which might include overtures for peace talks with the Nationalist government and a sudden backdown by Peiping to meet American's demand in the Geneva parley.

Vice Premier S.K. Huang predicted the Chinese Reds might come out with a string of renewed peace campaigns during their "Eighth People's Congress" to be called in Peiping September 15.

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

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C 1022/23

CHINA

FROM

A.C.H.-G.

No.

27 September, 1956

Dated

Received in
Registry—

8/10

References to former relevant papers

MINUTES

This is the text of Chen Yi's speech
referred to in the despatch of -/25.

to C. Symon

20/10

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completed)

N.Y. 4/4

(Index)

N.Y. 12/10/57

References to later relevant papers

7/25 1022-

49724

Para 40 reports that the Chinese revolution is
not for export and that China will not
interfere in the internal affairs of other
countries. Tibet is presumably not
regarded.]

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

regarded as a separate country but to
 China encroachment on Burmese territory
 hardly fits in with this picture.

Atwell
 28/10

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Gulka.

C/022/23
-11-

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.

Thursday, September 27, 1956.

CHEN YI'S SPEECH AT PARTY CONGRESS:
THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

PEKING September 25--Chen Yi, member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council, today made a speech to the Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.

1. His speech, entitled "The Present International Situation and our Foreign Policy", reads in full as follows:

3. I fully endorse Comrade Mao Tse-tung's opening speech and the reports which Comrades Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and Chou En-lai made on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party.

4. Our entire Party and the people of the whole country are concentrating all possible efforts on the task of building China into a prosperous, a strong, and highly industrialised socialist state. To fulfill this gigantic task, it is necessary to secure a peaceful international environment over a fairly long period. This is precisely the basis of our foreign policy. Here, I would like to make some observations on the present international situation and our foreign policy.

5. The characteristic features of the present international situation are: The forces fighting for and in defence of peace the world over are daily growing while the international reactionary forces pursuing a policy of war and aggression are becoming daily weakened and isolated. With this change in the relative strength the international situation has definitely tended towards relaxation.

6. Since the second World War, the United States monopoly circles, who made a good deal of bad money without sustaining any serious loss, have been carrying on frantic expansionist activities militarily, politically, and economically in their bid for world domination. They have not only brought about the militarization of their own national economy, but have also compelled the states which follow them to do the same. They have forced many countries to conclude humiliating agreements with the United States, lined up a number of aggressive military blocs, established widespread military bases outside their own country, rearmed Western Germany and Japan, kept on creating world tension, and openly resorted to the threat of atomic war. These aggressive and expansionist activities of the United States monopoly circles have been carried out under the anti-Communist flag. It is true that United States monopoly circles hate the socialist states, and they have always harboured the intention of trying to overthrow the socialist states. But the anti-Communist flag has been conveniently used to cover up their activities in the countries outside the socialist camp. These activities include political and economic expansion, interference in the domestic affairs of these countries, violation of their sovereignty and national interests, suppression of their movements for democracy and national independence and scramble for markets. This policy of "cold war" and "strength" is actually a policy of intimidation and blackmail by means of war.

7. The United States monopoly circles have tried every possible means, including military encirclements, trade embargoes, subversive activities, and even armed intervention, to check the development of the socialist countries in a vain attempt to restore the capitalist system in these countries. However, what the United States monopoly circles attempt to do is one thing; whether their attempts will

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CHEN YI'S SPEECH AT PARTY CONGRESS:THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND OUR FOREIGN POLICY (continued)

meet with success is quite another. The growth and unity of the socialist states has definitely doomed these attempts to failure.

8. Today, socialism has grown beyond the borders of a single country into a strong world system comprising over one-third of the world's population and more than one-fourth of the world area. The tremendous progress which the socialist states have made in all spheres of construction testifies to the indisputable superiority of the socialist system. The great Soviet Union has embarked on the Sixth 5-Year Plan. The Soviet people are striving with confidence for the realisation of their basic economic task in the shortest period possible. That is, the task of catching up with and surpassing the most developed capitalist countries in per capita output. China and the other People's Democracies are also developing their national economy at a very rapid pace.

9. The socialist states have forged among themselves ties of great indestructible fraternal friendship. Our relations are those of co-operation, based on equality and mutual benefit, those of mutual respect, mutual assistance for common progress. In all these socialist countries, Marxism-Leninism is the guiding thought and we have all a common ideal and a common goal in the realisation of Communism. We have sufficient conditions for co-operation in the field of national economy, for the exchange of technical experience, for ensuring the most effective utilisation of our natural resources and the common development of our national economy. All our socialist countries are pursuing a peaceful foreign policy, giving each other support in defending the cause of world peace, and marching forward side by side. All this provides the basis for the close unity and invincibility of our socialist countries.

10. The fact that the socialist states are strong and solid is of immense international significance. The socialist states which are daily growing in strength and unity afford a strong protection for world peace and have created unprecedentedly favourable historical conditions for the development and victory of the movements for national independence.

"Since the second world war, another development of world historical significance is that the struggle waged by the colonial and semi-colonial people's against colonialism and for their national independence has developed to new heights and has continuously scored an unbroken series of successes. In the second world war, the victory in the anti-fascist war with the Soviet Union as the main force was an important factor in giving encouragement to this struggle. The victory of the Chinese revolution dealt another telling blow at the imperialist colonial system. At present, not only have the Asian and African peoples gained new victories in their struggles against colonialism, but the peoples of Latin America have thrown themselves into the struggle against colonialism. During the 10 years since the end of the war, over 1,200 million people, that is, nearly half of the world's population have liberated their countries from the status of colony or semi-colony. Even those countries which remain in colonial or semi-colonial dependence or are still economically dependent on the imperialists are no longer "the most reliable" and "inexhaustible" reserve forces of the imperialists. The imperialist colonial system has collapsed beyond salvage.

"As early as November 1919, Lenin in his report at the All-Russia second congress of the Communist organisations of the oriental nations had pointed out:

"With the awakening of the East, the time has come

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NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.

Thursday, September 27, 1956.

CHEN YI'S SPEECH AT PARTY CONGRESS:THE PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND OUR FOREIGN POLICY (continued)

in the modern revolution when all the peoples of the East will take a hand in deciding the fate of the world and not merely be objects for the enrichment of others. The peoples of the East are awakening and are ready for practical action. They will join in deciding the question of the destiny of mankind".

13. The great prophecy of Lenin has already come true.

14. For a long time, the oppressed nations of the East, which constitute the majority of the world's population, had been looked down upon as backward. To be humiliated and exploited by others at will, and they, therefore, had no say in world affairs. This situation is fundamentally changed. Now, just as Lenin had anticipated, the oppressed nations of the East have awakened, and have roused themselves for practical action. They have found sympathy and reliable support in the socialist countries. They are no longer the great rear of the imperialists; but on the contrary, they have gradually become the positive force in promoting the progress of mankind. Under Communist leadership, some of the formerly colonial and semi-colonial nations are already on the road to socialism; and others under nationalist leadership, have won national independence. However, regardless of the different steps through which they have won their freedom and independence, these nations that now hold their fate in their own hands are at one in their effort to safeguard their sovereignty and independence.

15. Here, mention must be made of the righteous action of Egypt in nationalising the Suez Canal Company. This righteous struggle of the Egyptian people has given encouragement to the people of the various countries who are opposed to colonialism, and it has commanded the strong support of the peoples of all Asian and African countries as well as all nations and peoples in the world that love peace and justice.

16. The era when the Western colonial powers could shape the fate of the oriental nations at will is definitely gone. Certain top-ranking leaders of the Western countries are not willing to take cognizance of the reality of the awakening of the East, the awakening of Asia and Africa, and they have committed serious mistakes. If they do not correct this biased view, they will yet commit more serious mistakes. In order to open their eyes I reiterate this point here. It is of benefit to them.

17. In order to put to an end their economic and cultural backwardness brought about by long years of colonial rule, the nations which have just won independence from colonial rule deeply realise the importance of safeguarding world peace and of co-operation between nations. Therefore, they have been exerting their efforts steadily towards the realisation of this lofty goal, and have already made important contributions. All of us still remember the positive role played by the five Colombo countries -- India, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, and Pakistan--in bringing about the agreement reached at the Geneva conference on the restoration of peace in Indo-China. We should also mention the outstanding contributions made by our great neighbour, India, as a world power, in striving for peace and in promoting friendship between the peoples of various countries. The first Asian-African conference in history convened at Bandung in 1955 has convincingly proven that the peoples of Asian and African countries have not only steadily grown more united in their common struggle against colonialism and for national independence, but also have become a

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CHEN YI'S SPEECH AT PARTY CONGRESS. (continued)

new mighty political force in the world arena in safeguarding world peace and in promoting peaceful coexistence between nations. Now, many important international questions, especially those which directly concern Asian and African countries, cannot be solved without the participation of the Asian and African countries concerned or when the will of these countries is ignored.

18. The colonialists cannot reconcile themselves to the rapid collapse of their colonial system. The United States monopoly circles, the most predatory colonialists in the world today, are not only doing their utmost to prop up the tottering colonial system, but also are attempting to expand their own colonial rule by employing new methods of colonial enslavement. However, no matter how many "new brands" of colonial enslavement the United States monopoly circles may put out, the people of the various countries who have long suffered from colonial rule will not be deceived. In Asian and African areas, more and more nationally independent countries have adopted the peaceful neutral policy and are strongly resisting the intrigues of the United States monopoly circles. They refuse to join military blocs of an aggressive character, refuse to be used as bases for, or instruments of, aggressive wars; they reject the so-called aid with strings attached, and they will not allow the colonialists to control and enslave them again through such "aid". They oppose the attempt of the United States monopoly circles to sow dissension and antagonism between the countries of Asia and Africa; they are exerting their effort to promote peaceful coexistence and friendly co-operation between nations.

19. The United States monopoly circles carry on their colonial expansion under the banner of combatting Communism, but, from their own personal experience, the people who have suffered, or are now suffering, from colonialism know that the socialist states support the struggles of all oppressed nations and oppose colonialism in any form. Unlike the imperialist countries, the socialist states adopt a policy of peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation towards countries which have just shaken off colonial rule.

20. The 5 principles of peaceful coexistence initiated by China, India and Burma is the demonstration of such a policy. In developing their independent national economy and in raising the living standards of their people, the countries which have just won independence need not beg from their former oppressors; they can look forward to the help without conditions attached to it from the socialist states in matters of modernised equipment and technical experience.

21. The friendship and co-operation between countries which the nationally independent countries and the socialist states are developing day by day, the struggle against colonialism and the struggle for peace have been closely connected into one.

22. In the meanwhile, the broad masses of the people in all the capitalist countries are extensively carrying on the movement against war and in defence of peace. Those who participate in this movement include not only the masses of workers, peasants, and intellectuals, but also bourgeois personages in growing numbers. These people begin to see through more and more clearly, the anti-Communist smokescreen put out by the United States monopoly circles with their policy of war that are threatening their interests. It is precisely this policy of the United States monopoly circles that is causing them to bear heavy military expenses and bringing them the danger of war. They support the proposals of the socialist countries for general reduction of armaments, the complete outlawing of atomic and nuclear weapons, and an immediate halt to the experimentation and test explosions of these weapons. They welcome the practical steps the socialist states have taken in reducing

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NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.

Thursday, September 27, 1956.

CHEN YI'S SPEECH AT PARTY CONGRESS. (continued)

their armed forces, cutting down their armaments and military expenditures. They know that to guarantee the security and peace of Europe and Asia, the socialist states have put forward a non-exclusive system of collective security and collective peace to replace the antagonistic military blocs now in existence. They have seen that for the relaxation of international tension, the socialist states have all along upheld the principle of settling international disputes by peaceful means, the peaceful coexistence of countries of different social systems, and the implementation of economic and cultural co-operation. Now, the struggles of the people of the capitalist countries of the world for improvement of living conditions, against armament expansion, for peace, and against war are becoming an important factor in defence of peace.

23. The opposition of the broad masses of the people in capitalist countries to the plan of the United States monopoly circles for aggression and war cannot but also influence the foreign policy of these countries, apart from countries that have recently won their national independence, an increasing number of countries, including some north European countries, are unwilling to become the objectives of United States expansion and unwilling to plunge into the whirlpool of military adventure and the arms drive. They refuse to join the military blocs organised by the United States and have adopted a policy of peaceful coexistence with socialist countries. Even among the countries which have joined the military blocs organised by the United States, there are also increasing indications of a trend towards peaceful neutrality. Even in Western Germany and Japan, the defeated countries still under United States occupation, there are more and more people who demand that the domination of the United States should be shaken off and who advocate the adoption of a policy of peaceful neutrality. The United States monopoly circles have called this policy of neutrality "immoral". In point of fact it is not the policy of neutrality that is immoral, but the policy of war pursued by the United States monopoly circles themselves. The facts prove that the policy of neutrality adopted in the face of the United States policy of war by these capitalist countries completely conforms to their own interests and benefits the safeguarding of world peace. At present, this trend towards neutrality in these countries is getting to be a daily broadening course and is exerting a more and more important influence in world affairs.

(continued on page 17)

GREETINGS FROM COMMUNIST PARTY OF PARAGUAY.

PEKING September 24 -- Experience gained in the Chinese revolution demonstrated to the people of Paraguay that their country could and would certainly be a free, sovereign and independent state like China. This was said in a message of greetings from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Paraguay which was read at the Congress today to warm applause.

The message added that the experience also proved that "if the mighty forces of the people are joined in a united front, based on the worker-peasant alliance, against imperialism and feudalism and wage unremitting struggle under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary political party, the Communist Party of Paraguay, Paraguay can be free from the plight of poverty and bankruptcy.

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GREETINGS FROM C.P. OF PARAGUAY (continued)

"The people of Paraguay will never allow the American monopolists to exploit them at will under the deceptive guise of 'aid'. They will never tolerate the United States turning our country into its military base for aggressive war against the Soviet Union, People's China and other people who cherish peace, or into a centre for strategic communication".

The message added that the current Congress would cause the 5 principles of peaceful coexistence to be still more firmly established and "transform the relaxation already attained in the international situation into lasting peace, and bring new failures to the colonialists and the fanatics of the 'positions of strength'".

In conclusion, the message said: "The people of all lands, including the people of our country, call for the restoration to its rightful position in the United Nations of People's China with a population of 600 million and demand the American withdrawal from Taiwan, which must be returned to the People's Republic of China".

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ECUADOR DELEGATE SPEAKS.

PEKING September 24 -- The experience gained in the Chinese revolution was of tremendous importance to the people of Ecuador and other Latin American countries,

Pedro Antonio Saad Niyain, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ecuador, who made this statement at the Congress today, following a standing ovation said this was because "our main enemies are the same enemies that the Chinese people defeated in their great liberation struggle--imperialism and feudalism".

"We are suffering the consequences of a military pact like those which the United States has imposed on other Latin American countries. They want to use our soil as a military base for aggression and our men to fight against the liberty and progress of mankind.

"Along with imperialist oppression, the Ecuadorians also suffer exploitation by a handful of landlords who maintain a semi-feudal regime.

"Our people are mobilising against these two enemies, struggling to defend their rights and their life, to achieve national independence and find the path to their liberation. Workers and peasants are fighting for better living and working conditions, against feudal oppression and imperialist domination.

"Our Party is extending its efforts in the direction of forming, through these actions, a great democratic front of national liberation, in which, together with the working class and peasants, middle class people, handicraftsmen, office workers, intellectuals and members of the national bourgeoisie will take part.

"We know that we must find our own road, studying the realities of our nation in the light of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. For this great task the experiences of other peoples, and of our brother parties, is an invaluable help."

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NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY

Thursday, September 27, 1956

CHEN YI'S SPEECH AT PARTY CONGRESS (continued)

24. Great changes have also taken place in the imperialist camp. Because economically Britain and France have attained a certain measure of rehabilitation and development, the monopoly enjoyed for a time after the second world war by the United States is now shaken. This has further intensified the contradictions within the imperialist camp, particularly the contradictions between the United States and Britain. The major European allies of the United States have attempted to ensure their super profits by following the lead of the United States monopoly circles in pursuing the arms drive and making war preparations and, at the same time, they have attempted to maintain their vested interests by capitalising on their position as the allies of the United States.

25. But in both cases their expectations have come to nothing. Instead, they have discovered that the heavy burden of military expenditure has become a serious hindrance to their own economic development, while the United States has been taking advantage of its position as their allies to deprive them of their vested interests and violate their sovereignty. On the other hand, the policy pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for trade and economic co-operation with all countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, the initiative they have taken in reducing their armed forces and military expenditure, and many other measures they have adopted in the struggle for peace cannot but also exert a strong influence on these major European allies of the United States.

26. It is no accident, therefore, that since the beginning of this year, the trend towards peaceful co-existence has made some headway in these countries. However, towards the national independence movements of Asian and African countries, these countries in general, and Britain and France in particular, often fail to adopt an attitude that is realistic and suited to the temper of the times. A glaring example of this is that, recently, on the question of the Suez Canal, Britain and France, relying on the support of the United States, have threatened Egypt with the use of force and even sought to carry out an adventurist plan of war provocation to rob Egypt of her sovereignty over the Suez Canal. In the fifties of the 20th century, the 'gunboat policy' definitely cannot serve the imperialists any more as a means of maintaining their colonial interests. If Britain and France continue to pursue this policy, they will not only come up against the resistance of the peoples fighting for or defending their national independence, and the opposition of all upright, peace-loving people in the world and so inevitably land themselves in defeat in the end, but also let slip the opportunity of establishing on a new basis friendly relations of equality and mutual benefit with the Eastern countries.

27. In pursuing this policy by relying on the strength of the United States, Britain and France will, apart from leaving open whatever they will possess to the grasping hands of the United States, only find themselves in a situation where they will have to obey more United States dictates in engineering international tension and obstructing peaceful co-existence of all countries.

28. Within the United States itself, the war policy of the monopoly circles has also aroused widespread dissatisfaction and opposition. The policy of the arms drive and war preparations has imposed a heavy burden of military expenditure on the broad masses of the working people as well as on the small enterprises, but brought unprecedented, huge profits to the monopoly circles. The production of and experimenting on weapons of vast destructive power has also made the American people realise that colossal calamities will be brought them by the war policy of the United States monopoly circles.

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CHEN YI'S SPEECH AT PARTY CONGRESS (continued)

29. For this reason the American people are unceasingly struggling for the safeguarding of their personal interests and for peace. In the latest election campaign in the United States, the two bourgeois political parties have been obliged to put forward slogans of peace. Within the United States ruling circles, a more clear-sighted section of people have also begun to realise that to continue to carry out the policy of the arms drive and war preparations will not only result in the greater isolation of the United States, but also bring serious consequences to the economy of the United States itself. Very recently, a section of the ruling circles in the United States have begun to advocate the reduction of armed forces, the lifting of embargo, and the adoption of a more realistic attitude towards international affairs. They demand an agonising reappraisal of United States foreign policy. Much as these suggestions are not thorough-going, much as they have not become dominant within the United States ruling circles, the very fact that they have been made indicates the sorry plight in which the policy of war pursued by the monopoly cliques now finds itself.

30. Working for the common objective of striving for peace and opposing war, all the peace-loving forces in the world are now merging into a mighty stream. The present international situation is favourable to world peace, and unfavourable to the war schemes of the monopoly circles in their attempt to establish world domination. There is no doubt whatsoever that the possibilities for winning peace and averting war have greatly increased.

31. But it is certain that the United States aggressive bloc will not of itself give up its plots for war and aggression. The struggle between the international forces of peace and the forces of war will still be a prolonged and unremitting one. It would be a serious mistake if, in this struggle, we were to lose our vigilance against the danger of war. In order to win consolidated and lasting peace, we still have to make unremitting and greater efforts together with all the peace-loving countries and peoples throughout the world.

32. Ever since the day of its inauguration, the People's Republic of China has made its appearance in the international arena as a force that safeguards and consolidates world peace.

33. All efforts made by the Chinese people are aimed at building China into a prosperous, happy, socialist, industrial country. We need a peaceful international environment for such peaceful labour. This essential fact determines our peaceful policy in foreign relations. As is laid down in the preamble to the constitution of the People's Republic of China: "In international affairs our firm and consistent policy is to strive for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of humanity".

34. In accordance with these principles and policy the Chinese people have, over the past 7 years, safeguarded the independence and security of their motherland, dealt blows to the breakers of peace, and made important contributions towards bringing about a relaxation in international tension and promoting international friendship and co-operation.

35. The growing strength, unity and solidarity of socialist countries form the cornerstone that safeguards world peace. The Chinese people regard the consolidation and development of the unity and co-operation of their own country with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies as a task of first-rate importance. Shortly after its birth the People's Republic of China concluded the treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance with the great Soviet Union;

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NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY

Thursday, September 27, 1956

CHEN YI'S SPEECH AT PARTY CONGRESS (continued)

this great alliance between China and the Soviet Union has become a powerful guarantee of peace in the Far East and the world. China has established a lasting and unbreakable friendship with the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries. The imperialists have used all means to carry out provocations among us in their attempt to disrupt our friendship and unity. But their despicable tricks have all ended in ignominious defeat. Continuing in the tradition of modesty and respect for others, and strictly guarding ourselves against any possible tendency towards great nation chauvinism and nationalism, China has, with each passing day, more and more consolidated and developed the close co-operation and unity she has established with the other socialist countries to continue to consolidate and develop this friendship and unity remains to be our cardinal task.

36. As the Chinese people have long suffered from the scourge of colonialism, it is quite natural for them to sympathise deeply with all struggles against colonialism and for safeguarding national independence. During the Asian-African Conference, China and other Asian-African countries have solemnly declared that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end. Whether on the question of India's regaining possession of Goa, or on the question of Indonesia's regaining possession of West Irian, or on the question of the nationalisation of the Suez Canal Company by Egypt, or on other questions relating to opposition to colonialism and safeguarding of national independence, China has always firmly stood on the side of the nations which are the victims of oppression and aggression. The Egyptians and the people of other Arabic countries are at present in the Western forefront of the struggle against colonialism, the Chinese people give full support to their heroic struggle. Struggles for and in defence of national independence in any part of the world form an important part of the struggle in defence of world peace. We shall continue to give resolute support to all such struggles aimed at winning and safeguarding national independence.

37. It is the firm conviction of China that countries with different social systems should live together at peace. Together with India and Burma, China initiated the 5 principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence.

38. China strictly adheres to these 5 principles in its international relations. To China, these 5 principles are not by any means temporary and expedient tactics, but our basic policy in the conduct of foreign relations.

39. China had for long years in the past been trampled under the iron-heel of imperialism, and it was only after untold hardships that she had won her independence. We resolutely demand that other countries respect our territorial integrity and sovereignty, as we unequivocally respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other countries. We have grown up in the struggles against aggression and oppression, and we fully understand the sufferings of being victims of aggression.

40. Even now, we still suffer from United States aggression; but we are fully convinced that the aggressors are doomed to failure. On our part, we shall never launch aggression against others. It is only after long years of struggles that we won the right to choose our own social system. We firmly believe that revolution is not for export; we shall never interfere in the internal affairs of other countries
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CHEN YI'S SPEECH AT PARTY CONGRESS (continued)

We have for long years been discriminated against by imperialism and fettered by unequal treaties, and in the prolonged struggles for national independence we have accumulated the experience of uniting for the common struggle with all the nations of the world that treat us on an equal footing.

"1. We are willing to establish economic and cultural contacts and co-operation with all the countries and peoples on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and without any strings whatsoever. As we have been compelled to live for long years in the throes of protracted wars, we understand profoundly the value of peace. Hence, now we not only require a peaceful international environment for our socialist construction, but even in the future when we have brought the work of building socialism to a successful conclusion, we shall also exert all our efforts to safeguard world peace.

"2. It cannot be denied that there are still countries and people abroad who show a lack of understanding or even entertain misgivings about such a new and rising country as China. This is so, especially because of imperialist slanders. The imperialists are afraid of the far-reaching influence which the victory of the Chinese revolution has brought about and the mighty force derived from the solidarity of the 600 million Chinese people with other countries and peoples. They have therefore concocted all manners of slander to vilify New China and have cast aspersions among other countries, in an attempt to drive a wedge between China and other countries. But the facts have proved that such calumny and provocations will not stand any test. Barriers and lack of understanding between nations can be removed.

"3. In this connection, the wide contacts between China and other countries and the friendly visits paid to each other have played a great role. The contacts established between leaders of China and other countries have also done much to promote mutual understanding and to bring about an improvement in our relations. We have played host to various sections of people from different countries who have come to visit China. We have sent delegations abroad to return these courtesies. We have established contacts with many countries through these comings and goings which serve to increase mutual confidence, remove misunderstanding and foster the growth of friendship. We must continue to make efforts to strengthen our work in this regard.

"4. At the inauguration of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao Tse-tung announced to the whole world: "This Government is willing to establish diplomatic relations with any Government which is willing to observe the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty". By now we have established diplomatic relations with 28 countries embracing a population of more than 1,000 million. Moreover, we have established economic and cultural relations with a still greater number of countries and people. On the basis of the 5 principles of peaceful co-existence, China has established relations of friendly co-operation with many Asian and African countries. China also has established normal relations with the North European countries and other countries on the European continent.

"5. In spite of the fact that normal international trade is still being obstructed by embargo and that international exchange of culture is marred by man-made obstacles, the trade and cultural relations between China and other countries have made great strides forward over the last few years. Owing to outside pressure, some countries, for the time being, are still prevented from establishing normal diplomatic relations with us.

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NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY

Thursday, September 27, 1956

CHEN YI'S SPEECH AT PARTY CONGRESS (continued)

We are convinced, however, that such a situation will not last long. Some countries are trying to fly in the face of facts and attempt to bar New China from international affairs. But such an attitude will only result in rousing increasing opposition at home and abroad and in having themselves more and more isolated.

46. There are other countries which vainly try to create what they call "two Chinas", that is to say, they are trying to make out the Chinese province of Taiwan as another China, or as another country with an independent existence. Such plots to interfere with the internal affairs of China constitute an encroachment on the sovereignty of our country. The Chinese people are determined to oppose such plots which stand no chance of success.

47. China is willing to live side by side in peace with all countries. With a view to improving and further developing our relations with other countries, we must continue to make constant efforts to this end. We must actively further our friendly relations with countries in Asia and Africa, and with our neighbours in particular. As to the practical questions concerning these countries and China which we have inherited from the old regime, we must also continue to make an effort, in the spirit of the 5 principles of peaceful co-existence, to gradually seek a solution by means of peaceful consultation. We must guard against attempts on the part of the imperialists to make use of these questions to sow dissension between us. As regards the Western countries, we must also try to improve and develop our relations with them. Our policy of peaceful co-existence excludes no one, not even the United States of America.

48. The United States has all along taken a hostile attitude towards the People's Republic of China. The People's Republic of China was established in circumstances where the American armed intervention had come to naught. Not long after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the United States began menacing China and embarked upon its aggression against our country from Korea, Indo-China and Taiwan, on what they called a "three pronged front". Up to the present, the United States is still occupying our territory, Taiwan, and trying to interfere in the liberation of our offshore islands.

49. China has put up resolute resistance to the armed intervention and acts of aggression on the part of the United States. For we know full well that only by putting up determined resistance to aggression can we preserve peace. Facts have proved that only by making a determined effort to protect our national independence and the security of our country will the aggressors gradually come to their senses and will they be impelled to settle international disputes through peaceful consultation. Meanwhile, we have not let slip any possibility of relaxing tensions, and China has made contributions to bringing about armistice in Korea and the restoration of peace in Indo-China. Even with regard to the dispute between China and the United States in the Taiwan area, China has put forward concrete proposals to hold a meeting between China and the United States on the foreign minister level for peaceful consultation.

50. The encroachment upon Taiwan and the interference in the internal affairs of China by the United States is meeting with the opposition of increasing numbers of countries and the broad masses of the people of the world. American penetration in the political, economic and cultural fields in Taiwan and the domination it is trying to establish there, has further aroused our compatriots in Taiwan, including the military and political personnel of the Kuomintang, to more and more intensified discontent and resistance.

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CHEN YI'S SPEECH AT PARTY CONGRESS (continued)

Our great motherland is growing stronger and stronger with each passing day. The possibility of bringing about a peaceful liberation of Taiwan is increasing too. Nevertheless, whatever form the liberation of Taiwan will take, Taiwan is sure to return to the bosom of our motherland. Nothing can stop the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan. If the United States does not abandon its policy of encroaching upon Taiwan and interfering with the internal affairs of our country, then it will only find itself sinking deeper and deeper into the quagmire from which it can never hope to extricate itself.

Comrades! The international situation is favourable to the socialist construction in our country and to the accomplishment of our task of liberating Taiwan. Our country and people have scored successes in their efforts to bring about a peaceful international environment. For the sake of world peace and the progress of humanity, we must strengthen our solidarity with all the peaceloving forces in the world, and carry on the struggle. We are convinced that under the firm and correct leadership of our Party, the Chinese people will achieve still greater successes and win still more glorious victories in their great work of socialist construction and in the noble cause of preserving world peace.

- - - - -

DANISH DELEGATE SPEAKS

PEKING September 24 - The 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party "shows the growing rate of progress of the cause of peace and is an important step forward by the Chinese people in their stupendous tasks on their way to socialism". M. Nielsen, head of the delegation of the Communist Party of Denmark, who said this at today's session of the 8th congress also conveyed greetings to the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people.

"You are one of the most decisive forces in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism in contemporary history", he said.

M. Nielsen, a member of the Political Bureau of the Danish Communist Party, added that "with the steady slackening of international tension, under the influence of the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and with the growing opposition of the working people to the political and economic results of militarism, the working people in Denmark, inspired by the Communist Party, are uniting more and more rapidly". This spring a demonstration unprecedented in size in the history of Denmark had been held by the working people of the country, he said.

The Danish people were opposed to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, M. Nielsen declared, for "thrice in the past 100 years the German militarists have attempted to wipe out our country".

He told the congress that owing to the firm opposition of the people, the plans of the "North Atlantic Treaty Organisation" for setting up United States military bases on Danish territory have time and again come to naught.

His speech was greeted with warm applause.

- - - - -

NEW DELHI September 25 - Indian Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan left here by plane this afternoon on a goodwill tour to Indonesia, Japan and China. He is expected to reach Peking on October 10.

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

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C10/22/24

1956

CHINA

FROM

N.C.N.A.

No.

Dated September 26.

Received in Registry— October 11.

Burhan speaks on proposals for closer contact with Arab countries at the Communist Party Congress.

References to former relevant papers

MINUTES

W. E. Symon

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W. E. Symon 25/10

Burhan Uddin
✓ S.R.
6/11

W. E. Symon
28/10

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W. E. Symon
15/10/57

References to later relevant papers

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C1022/24

SEPTEMBER 26 MEETING OF PARTY CONGRESS --BURHAN'S SPEECH.

PEKING September 26 --Proposals for closer contact with Arab countries were put forward by Burhan at today's session of the Party Congress here. Burhan is the Vice-Chairman of the Nationalities Committee of the National People's Congress.

He urged more mutual visits of art and trade delegations between China and other countries and all possible mutual economic aid to enable the oppressed countries to gradually free themselves from imperialist control. He said in future we should establish more connections with the Arab states and give support to their national liberation movement.

Burhan quoted the words of many Government leaders, religions and public figures he met in the Arab countries during the Chinese Haj mission to Mecca recently, showing that the people in the Arab world were awakened, particularly since the Suez issue. They were firmly united in the struggle against imperialist colonial policy, he said.

There were altogether 1,300 million Islamic believers in the world, many of whom were still suffering under imperialist oppression, he told the Congress. The imperialists / tried by every means to estrange Moslems from non-Moslems so as to prolong the exploitation of the people, Burhan said. In future they would find it not so easy to exploit religion for their private profit, he added.

During his visit he had heard many religious leaders exposing imperialist crimes in the mosques and at mass meetings and calling on the people to resist aggression.

Burhan said that the friendly relations between China and the Arab countries that had been resumed since the Bandung conference and the mutual visits of people between these countries had refuted the imperialist slander that China's policy was to "destroy religion".

The visit of the Chinese Islamic Haj mission in many Arab countries was another proof of the religious freedom and national equality in China.

"Friendship between the Chinese people and the people of the Arab world has been further strengthened by the firm support of the Chinese Government and the people for the just struggle of the Egyptian people over the nationalising of the Suez Canal", Burhan stressed.

He told the Congress that during his visit he had extended invitations to Government and religious leaders of many Arab countries to visit China in the near future.

The people in the Arab world want to know about the situation in China, Burhan said. They should be given information about the history of the Chinese revolution and the present efforts in national construction. He suggested that films of new China be dubbed in Arabic. He also suggested that young people and students of various nationalities should be sent to the Arab countries to study there.

Describing the political, economic and cultural achievements of Sinkiang Burhan said that the people of all nationalities there were very grateful for the correct leadership of the Party. He expressed the hope that cadres of Han nationality would continue to assist the national minorities in Sinkiang and other areas. "This kind of assistance is needed not only at present but also in the future" he said. "Because we realise that only with leadership from the Communist Party and fraternal assistance from the Han nationality /had (continued)

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SEPTEMBER 26 MEETING OF PARTY CONGRESS: BURHAN'S SPEECH. (continued)

can Sinkiang be speedily built up and the historical legacy of inequality among nationalities brought to a complete end".

SOONG CHING-LING'S SPEECH AT CONGRESS.

PEKING September 26 -- Following is the full text of Soong Ching-ling's speech made at the 8th National Congress of the Communist Party of China this afternoon:

Dear Comrades!

Allow me first of all to extend my sincerest and warmest greetings to the 8th National Congress of the Communist Party of China and to all the comrades who are taking part in its deliberations. I congratulate you on the brilliant achievements you have won across the years in every stage of the revolutionary struggle.

Comrades! Not being a member of the Communist Party, I consider it the greatest honour and pleasure of my life to have been able to attend this historic Congress.

For some ten days I have been here at the Congress. I have heard reports of great consequence. I have heard the greetings of our friends from abroad, and I have heard the important speeches of many comrades. I feel greatly inspired, thus I cannot refrain from saying a few words.

The Chinese people have gone through many bitter experiences and learned many lessons over the years. At last, under the correct leadership of the Communist Party of China, they quickly freed themselves from the shackles of imperialism and destroyed feudalism; they forged ahead to achieve a decisive victory in the socialist revolution.

By these two revolutions, we have overthrown the system of exploitation of man by man and stood up on our own feet. Another great milestone has been passed in the march of human history. We are grateful to the Communist Party, which has always struggled for the liberation of mankind. Without the leadership of the Party we would not have been able to achieve our victories.

The people are the creators of history. Basing itself on this truth, the Chinese Communist Party has consistently followed a mass line in exercising its leadership. It unites and educates the masses. It listens to their opinions and works for their interests and welfare. It has never stood apart from the masses. Under the banner of patriotism, the Chinese Communist Party has rallied round itself all the democratic parties, brought into being a united front and established a coalition government.

With this state power as an instrument, it has put down the counter-revolutionaries and rehabilitated the national economy to pave the way for building socialist society. That is to say, by means of the Peoples Democratic State Power, it has led the revolution from victory to victory. The Chinese Communist Party has led us to build a socialist society by peaceful means.

Our socialist construction has won the warm support of millions upon millions of people all over the world. At the same time, it has met with hostility and obstruction by the counter-revolutionaries. Within the borders of our country, the Chiang Kai-shek clique is still entrenched on Taiwan. Abroad, there still exist the aggressive forces of imperialism headed by a warlike bloc. We must sharpen our vigilance against the counter-revolutionaries, strengthen

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-13-

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.

Monday, October 1, 1956.

SOONG CHING -LING'S SPEECH AT CONGRESS. (continued)

our people's dictatorship and smash their plots. Meanwhile, we should continue to unite with all the peace-loving people in other lands, foster cultural exchange, develop trade on the basis of equality and mutual benefit and spread the spirit of negotiation and co-operation to all corners of the earth.

The steady growth of the advanced type of agricultural co-operatives has transformed the system of private ownership of land. The continued development of the joint state-private enterprises and co-operatives of various kinds are building the foundations of our socialist society. But in order to keep pace effectively with the new socialist-economic relations, with the new relations of production, an old-style brain does not make for success in a new cause. New relationships are not born of backward ideas. Decadent habits can only wreck progressive institutions. Without education in patriotism, it would be very difficult for state enterprises to fulfil their tasks. Without doing away with individualist ideas, it would be very difficult for the co-operatives to achieve their aim. From now on our work in ideological education is bound to be both difficult and arduous. At the present time, the mounting socialist emulation movement, the blossoming of flowers of many kinds in art and literature, the contending of diverse schools of thought in scientific work are opening up splendid prospects before us. We must keep up unceasing efforts in these fields.

Our recent achievements have been a tremendous encouragement to us. Dear Comrades! Class society with its systems of exploitation has existed for more than 5,000 years on this planet of ours. But in the 35 years since the founding of the Communist Party of China, a very large part of mankind has already broken the fetters of imperialism and taken the socialist road. I firmly believe that in the not too distant future, socialism will become the prevailing social system throughout the whole world. The coming of that time means that the society that has neither classes nor exploitation will be more widespread. Mankind will have crossed the threshold into a world of universal harmony. This social system, I think, can only be realised under the leadership of the Communist Party--and it will certainly be realised.

In conclusion, allow me once again to express my gratitude to and deep respect for the great Communist Party, devoted to the cause of the liberation of mankind. I wish the Congress success!

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-14-

TA KUNG-PAO HAILS 8TH PARTY CONGRESS.

PEKING September 28-- The documents passed by the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party "are the most precious theoretical wealth of the Chinese people and will become a motivating force in pushing the entire Party and nation forward in the work of socialist construction" the Tientsin Ta Kung Pao said editorially today.

"The Chinese people completely trust and support the leadership of the new Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. They acknowledge it as the pilot directing us to a happier life" the paper said.

"To build our nation into a great socialist country as quickly as possible", we must study Marxist-Leninist theory, and combine it with the practice of the Chinese revolution and construction. We must rally closely around the Chinese Communist Party and do our work well by relying on the wisdom of the masses in concerted efforts", the editorial said.

- - - -

MALAYAN POLITICAL CIRCLES WANT TO RESTORE PEACE.

PEKING September 28 --Political circles in Malaya approve of the proposal to restore peace in Malaya as contained in the message of greetings sent by the Communist Party of Malaya to the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party, according to reports from Kuala Lumpur.

Amhad Boestaman, President of the Party Raayat, said that he agreed with the views of the Malayan Communist Party "if peace can be restored in Malaya", he said "it will be fortunate for the people of all nationalities in our country. At the same time it will be a great contribution to peace in Asia and the world".

He asked for a resumption of talks concerning the restoration of peace in Malaya to end the "state of emergency" which had already lasted 8 years.

Boestaman said that as long as both sides were sincere in seeking peace and took a conciliatory attitude, peace in Malaya could certainly be realised. He said that he would not object to international conciliation. All possible ways to realise peace in Malaya must be sought, he said.

Ramanathan, President of the Labour Party of Malaya, said that since the beginning of "the state of emergency"...

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

1956

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

CHINA

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FROM

Mr. O'Neill,
Peking.

No. 266"S" (1030/23/56).

Dated September 28.

Received in
Registry— October 11.Reports the proceedings of the Eighth
Party Congress insofar as they relate to
foreign affairs.(Copied: Washington, Moscow, New Delhi; Hong Kong,
Singapore, and Tamsui.)

References to former relevant papers

FC 1022/23.

FC 10110/70.

MINUTES

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The 8th Party Congress brought no
new developments in foreign policy.

It is perhaps significant that so little
time during the congress was devoted
to foreign affairs as compared with
the vast amount of time devoted
to internal political and economic
problems. This seems to provide good
evidence that, for the present, the
Chinese are concentrating on consol-
idating their power and building up
their economy rather than contemplating
further foreign adventures.

to e. Symon

18/10

49724

I agree with Mr. Symon's deduction.

Lin]

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References to later relevant papers

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Liu Shao-chi's remarks in paras 4 & 5 of
 his speech about the friendly family of
 socialist countries led by the Soviet Union
 and Chinese support for all forces demanding
 national independence, looks rather silly
 in the light of recent events in Poland
 and Hungary. It is surprising that
 there is no mention of Cyprus.

R11 Mayall
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M. Maland.

There is also a striking reference about

Japan.

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CHINA

October 11, 1956

Section 2

CHINESE FOREIGN POLICY

Mr. O'Neill to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received October 11)

(No. 266 (S.). Confidential) Peking,
Sir, September 28, 1956.

In this despatch I have the honour to report the proceedings of the Eighth Party Congress in so far as they relate to foreign affairs. Chairman Mao Tse-tung devoted a paragraph of his brief opening address to the subject; Section V of Liu Shao-ch'i's political report may be regarded as the main statement on the subject; the only speech on foreign affairs from the floor of the Congress was by Vice-Premier Chen Yi. I enclose translations of these three texts.⁽¹⁾ I shall, for the sake of convenience, address to you a separate despatch on the question of Formosa which is invariably dealt with by the Chinese as a question of internal and not of foreign affairs.

2. Mao Tse-tung's remarks are brief and confident. He states that China needs peace for her national construction, and that, thanks to the efforts of peace-loving people, she is favoured by the international situation. He calls for more co-operation within the Socialist camp and unity with all peace-loving countries, and offers diplomatic relations to all countries who wish to live at peace with China. He promises active support to national liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America and to peace movements and righteous struggles throughout the world. Finally he declares China's support for Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal and her opposition to any infringements of Egyptian sovereignty or military interference.

3. Liu Shao-ch'i deals first with the world situation and then with Chinese aims and policy. The world situation favours China. Since 1945 the Socialist bloc has grown greatly in population and area. Within the bloc relations are good and growing better. The Soviet Union has restored friendly relations with Yugoslavia, with whom China has established diplomatic relations. The Socialist countries, confident of their superiority over capitalist countries, hold

resolutely to a policy of peace and support the forces of national independence and human progress. After a brief bow to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its contribution to peace, Liu turns to the movement for national independence in Asia and Africa. Countries who together contain a quarter of the world's population, including China's great neighbour, India, have thrown off colonialism and in general adopted a policy of peace and neutrality. The Bandung Conference and the nationalisation of the Suez Canal prove the strength of this movement, which imperialism has vainly tried to check. The movement has benefited from the support and sympathy of the Socialist States, which have in turn benefited from the fact that imperialism has lost bases from which it used to wage war. Liu then attacks United States imperialism. It has gained control of Germany and Japan, robbed Britain and France of spheres of influence in Asia and Africa, and attempted to dominate the world. It has organised military blocs, established bases, created tension and prepared war. It impedes the development of East-West relations and is mortally afraid of peaceful coexistence. Although it works behind a smokescreen of "defence against Communist aggression" the peoples of the world are not deceived, knowing full well the positive contributions to peace of the Socialist countries. Liu then states that opposition to American policy is growing in both Asia and Africa, and dwells at great length on the "contradictions" within the capitalist bloc. He alleges that Britain and France are trying to use American strength to support their vested interests, but have found that their economic recovery is delayed by the military expenditure entailed in the American alliance. The conflict is particularly apparent between the United States and Britain whose foreign policy, together with that of France, is "in a state of contradiction and confusion." The

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example of the Suez Canal is adduced to show that, despite a growing desire for peaceful coexistence, Britain and France are still trying to maintain colonial privileges, while the United States seizes the opportunity to supplant them in the Middle East. Britain and France are warned that if they engaged in armed intervention they will be resisted by the peoples of Egypt and other Arab States, opposed by the broad masses throughout the world and overwhelmingly defeated. Finally Liu promises that despite the threat of war implied in the continued existence of imperialism, the future is bright; lasting peace and human progress may yet win the final victory.

4. It is not difficult to outline a Communist policy for China to fit a world painted in these colours. Liu Shao-ch'i states that China's unalterable policy is to strive for world peace and human progress. He opens his amplification of this statement with a warm tribute to Soviet assistance to the Chinese in their revolutionary struggle and since the establishment of the People's Republic, and assures his listeners that the consolidation of Sino-Soviet solidarity is China's highest international obligation. He then relates China, as a former sufferer, to the anti-colonial movement which is assured of positive assistance from the Chinese people. China wishes to establish harmonious relations with all the newly-freed countries of Asia, and in particular her neighbours, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. After a glance at the rest of the world Liu turns to Sino-American relations. He states that China wants peace with the United States, despite its various hostile acts in respect of Formosa, and despite subversion, the blockade and its policy over the Chinese seat at the United Nations. China has repeatedly proposed a bilateral conference of Foreign Ministers on "the problem of tension in the area of Formosa." He ends by extending a warm welcome to foreign visitors. "Facts prove that the Iron Curtain is not with us. Our doors are open to everyone."

5. Ch'en Yi's speech develops at length the broad themes of Section V of Liu Shao-ch'i's report. Ch'en Yi adduces more

instances and uses slightly more coloured language but never strays from the path laid down by his superior. He also mentions Formosa which, as I reported in my telegram No. 513 of the 17th of September, was covered in an earlier section of Liu Shao-ch'i's report.

6. These three statements do not reveal any new development in Chinese foreign policy. Liu Shao-ch'i's report differs from the last statement on foreign affairs, the Prime Minister's speech of the 28th of June on which I reported in my despatch No. 203 of the 5th of July, only in being more theoretical. His world picture is of a peaceful united Socialist bloc, an imperialist group dominated by the United States and a broad intermediate zone largely composed of former colonies and semi-colonies. China will strengthen her solidarity with the first group and develop good-neighbourly relations on an anti-colonial basis with the last. To the imperialists and their allies she offers formal friendship. Liu Shao-ch'i is a master of cautious exposition; he disdains any flash of rhetoric or humour which might give rise to speculation.

7. The main impression given by the speeches on foreign affairs at this Congress is the emphasis on "national independence" in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the prominence given to Egypt and the Suez Canal, which was mentioned even in the chairman's opening address. China will evidently continue to pay particular attention to Asia and Africa in her foreign policy. This is not surprising for the "Bandung spirit" has been notably advantageous to her over the last year.

8. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow, to the United Kingdom High Commissioner at New Delhi, to the Governor of Hong Kong, to the Commissioner-General for Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in South-East Asia at Singapore and to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Tamsui.

I have, &c.

C. O'NEILL.

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CONFIDENTIAL

No. 266 "S"

(1030/23/56)

BRITISH EMBASSY,

PEKING.

September 28, 1956.

FC1022/25

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In this despatch I have the honour to report the proceedings of the Eighth Party Congress insofar as they relate to foreign affairs. Chairman Mao Tse-tung devoted a paragraph of his brief opening address to the subject; Section V of Liu Shao-ch'i's political report may be regarded as the main statement on the subject; the only speech on foreign affairs from the floor of the Congress was by Vice-Premier Chen Yi. I enclose translations of

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3. Liu Shao-ch'i deals first with the world situation and then with Chinese aims and policy. The world situation favours China. Since 1945 the socialist bloc has grown greatly in population and area. Within the bloc relations are

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The Right Honourable Selwyn Lloyd, C.B.E., M.P.,
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good and growing better. The Soviet Union has restored friendly relations with Yugoslavia, with whom China has established diplomatic relations. The socialist countries, confident of their superiority over capitalist countries, hold resolutely to a policy of peace and support the forces of national independence and human progress. After a brief bow to the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its contribution to peace, Liu turns to the movement for national independence in Asia and Africa. Countries who together contain a quarter of the world's population, including China's great neighbour, India, have thrown off colonialism and in general adopted a policy of peace and neutrality. The Bandung Conference and the nationalisation of the Suez Canal prove the strength of this movement, which imperialism has vainly tried to check. The movement has benefited from the support and sympathy of the socialist states, which have in turn benefited from the fact that imperialism has lost bases from which it used to wage war. Liu then attacks United States imperialism. It has gained control of Germany and Japan, robbed Britain and France of spheres of influence in Asia and Africa, and attempted to dominate the world. It has organised military blocs, established bases, created tension and prepared war. It impedes the development of east-west relations and is mortally afraid of peaceful co-existence. Although it works behind a smokescreen of "defence against communist aggression" the peoples of the world are not deceived, knowing full well the positive contributions to peace of the socialist countries. Liu then states that opposition to American policy is growing in both Asia and Africa, and dwells at great length on the "contradictions" within the capitalist bloc. He alleges that Britain and France are trying to use American strength to support their vested interests, but have found that their economic recovery is delayed by the military expenditure entailed in the American alliance. The conflict is particularly apparent between the United States and Britain whose foreign policy together with that of France is "in a state of contradiction and confusion". The example of the Suez Canal is adduced to show that, despite a growing desire for peaceful co-existence, Britain and France are still trying to maintain colonial privileges, while the United States seizes the opportunity to supplant them in the Middle East. Britain and France are warned that if they engaged in armed

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intervention they will be resisted by the peoples of Egypt and other Arab states, opposed by the broad masses throughout the world and overwhelmingly defeated. Finally Liu promises that despite the threat of war implied in the continued existence of imperialism, the future is bright; lasting peace and human progress may yet win the final victory.

4. It is not difficult to outline a communist policy for China to fit a world painted in these colours. Liu Shao-ch'i states that China's unalterable policy is to strive for world peace and human progress. He opens his amplification of this statement with a warm tribute to Soviet assistance to the Chinese in their revolutionary struggle and since the establishment of the People's Republic, and assures his listeners that the consolidation of Sino-Soviet solidarity is China's highest international obligation. He then relates China, as a former sufferer, to the anti-colonial movement which is assured of positive assistance from the Chinese people. China wishes to establish harmonious relations with all the newly-freed countries of Asia, and in particular her neighbours, on the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence. After a glance at the rest of the world Liu turns to Sino-American relations. He states that China wants peace with the United States, despite its various hostile acts in respect of Formosa, and despite subversion, the blockade and its policy over the Chinese seat at the United Nations. China has repeatedly proposed a bilateral conference of Foreign Ministers on "the problem of tension in the area of Formosa". He ends by extending a warm welcome to foreign visitors. "Facts prove that the Iron Curtain is not with us. Our doors are open to everyone."

5. Ch'en Yi's speech develops at length the broad themes of Section V of Liu Shao-ch'i's report. Ch'en Yi adduces more instances and uses slightly more coloured language but never strays from the path laid down by his superior. He also mentions Formosa which, as I reported in my telegram No. 513 of the 17th of September, was covered in an earlier section of Liu Shao-ch'i's report.

6. These three statements do not reveal any new development in Chinese foreign policy. Liu Shao-ch'i's report differs from the last statement on foreign affairs, the Prime Minister's speech of the 28th of June on which I reported in my despatch No. 203 of the 5th of July, only in being more theoretical. His

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world picture is of a peaceful united socialist bloc, an imperialist group dominated by the United States and a broad intermediate zone largely composed of former colonies and semi-colonies. China will strengthen her solidarity with the first group and develop good-neighbourly relations on an anti-colonial basis with the last. To the imperialists and their allies she offers formal friendship. Liu Shao-ch'i is a master of cautious exposition; he disdains any flash of rhetoric or humour which might give rise to speculation.

7. The main impression given by the speeches on foreign affairs at this Congress is the emphasis on "national independence" in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the prominence given to Egypt and the Suez Canal, which was mentioned even in the Chairman's opening address. China will evidently continue to pay particular attention to Asia and Africa in her foreign policy. This is not surprising for the "Bandung spirit" has been notably advantageous to her over the last year.

8. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow, to the United Kingdom High Commissioner at New Delhi, to the Governor of Hong Kong, to the Commissioner-General for Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in South-East Asia at Singapore and to Her Majesty's Consul-General at Tamsui.

I have the honour to be,
With the highest respect, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

C. P. P.

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Enclosure to Peking despatch No. 266 "S" of September 28, 1956.

Extract from Mao Tse-tung's opening speech at the 8th Congress
of the Chinese Communist Party

"Internationally our victory has been obtained with the support of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism led by the Soviet Union and with the warm sympathy of peace loving peoples throughout the world. Current developments in international affairs are still more favourable to our national construction. China and all socialist countries need peace and peoples throughout the world also need peace. The only people who look forward to war and do not want peace are a few monopoly capitalist elements within the imperialist countries who make their money from aggression. Thanks to the unceasing efforts of the peace loving countries and peoples, the international situation is already tending towards relaxation. We must yet further develop friendly co-operation with our brothers within the socialist camp and strengthen our unity with all peace loving countries in order to obtain lasting peace. We must strive to establish regular diplomatic relations with all countries who wish to live at peace with us on a basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and reciprocal advantage. We must give active support to the national liberation movements in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the peace movements and righteous struggles within all countries of the world. We resolutely support the entirely legal action of the Egyptian Government in taking over the Suez Canal Company and we resolutely oppose any plot to infringe Egyptian sovereignty or interfere militarily in Egypt. We must ensure that the imperialist plots to create tension and to prepare for war are utterly smashed."

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The Political Report of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to the Eighth Party Congress delivered by Liu Shao-ch'i on September 15, 1956

Section V - International Affairs

In order to build China into a great socialist country we must not only unite all unitable internal forces but also strive to obtain the most favourable conditions internationally and to unite all unitable international forces.

What is our present international situation?

In general the present international situation favours the socialist construction of China. This is because since the second world war the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace have undergone an unprecedented development and the imperialist aggressive bloc's policy of extending itself as far as possible, opposing peaceful co-existence and preparing for a new world war has become less and less acceptable. In these circumstances the world cannot but tend towards relaxation and permanent peace in the world has begun to become possible.

When the Soviet people began socialist construction after the October Revolution there was no second socialist country in the world, but now, as the Chinese people begin socialist construction, the situation is radically different. Since the end of the second world war not only has the Soviet Union become much stronger but new socialist countries have emerged in Europe and Asia. Today the socialist countries including China already number 900 million people which is one-third of the world's population and occupy a continuous geographical bloc which constitutes the friendly family of socialist countries led by the Soviet Union. The relations between us are fraternal, friendly and cooperative and they are continually increasing and growing stronger. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have already restored friendly relations with Yugoslavia. China has established diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia and developed friendly communication.

The socialist countries are now mobilising all their internal strength for the peaceful construction of socialism and their industrial and agricultural production is developing at a speed which the capitalist countries can hardly match. In our foreign policy we hold resolutely to a policy of peace and advocate peaceful co-existence and friendly cooperation between all countries. We are confident of the superiority of the socialist system and do not fear competition with the capitalist countries. Our policy is in the interests of all people. All forces which love peace, demand national independence and strive for social progress will receive our sympathy and support. The voice of the socialist countries is heard ever louder amongst the peoples of the world and their international influence grows greater every day. The socialist countries led by the Soviet Union have already become a fortress on the side of permanent world peace.

The Twentieth Party Congress of the Soviet Union held in February this year is a great political event of world significance. It not only laid down the vast sixth Five-Year Plan and many important programmes whereby socialism can be developed and condemned the serious consequences of the cult of personality within the Party but also advocated a yet further degree of peaceful co-existence and international cooperation and made the clearest contribution to the relaxation of world tension.

The strength and unity of the socialist countries is the most favourable factor for our socialist construction.

Another development of great historical significance which has followed the second world war is a broad victory of the national independence movement. In addition to the Republics of Vietnam, Korea and China which have already embarked on the socialist road there is a whole series of nationally independent countries in Asia and Africa which have thrown off the fetters of colonialism. These nationally independent countries, including our great neighbour India, have a population of over 600 million, that is one-quarter of the world's

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population. The great majority of these countries have adopted a foreign policy of peace and neutrality. They are playing a growing role in the international field. The success of the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung and the new development of many independence movements in Africa and Asia and in particular the earth-shaking event of Egypt's recent nationalisation of the Suez Canal proves that the national independence movement has already become a great world force. In the past the great majority of countries of Africa and Asia were colonies or semi-colonies of imperialism. They were the rear areas from which imperialism prepared and waged war but now they have changed into forces of peaceful co-existence opposed to both colonialism and war. The anti-colonial struggle is also developing in the countries of Latin America. Imperialism is straining every nerve to dam the flood of the national independence movement but this flood will brook no dam. In the final event this flood will sweep away for ever the colonial regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It is indubitable that the existence of the socialist countries and the sympathy and support which the socialist countries have given to the national independence movement has very greatly facilitated the development and victory of this movement. At the same time the upsurge of the national independence movement has deprived imperialism of some aggressive power and helped world peace and this in its turn benefits the peaceful construction of the socialist countries. For this reason friendly cooperation between the socialist countries and the nationally independent countries is to their mutual benefit and also to the benefit of world peace.

This great historical change runs directly counter to the desires of imperialism and particularly to the desires of United States imperialism. United States monopoly capital, from the vantage point afforded by the profits it extracted from the second world war, extended its activity madly after the war. First of all it brought defeated Germany and Japan under control, robbed Britain and France of their spheres of influence in Asia and Africa and attempted to establish world hegemony. It organised military blocs, established military bases, created tension and prepared for a new war. U.S. imperialists described all these activities as "defence against Communist aggression" but their lies were finally exposed. Socialism is basically inconsistent with aggression. The socialist countries have eliminated the classes which draw profits from aggression, colonialism and foreign markets and have consequently eliminated the roots of foreign aggression. The clique within the imperialist countries which draws its profits from aggression can never want to stop aggression. Peoples of the world see very clearly that the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries positively advocate peaceful co-existence, the development of economic and cultural relations between East and West and have gone ahead in reducing their own arms and forces and in cutting their military expenditure. U.S. imperialism on the other hand is still increasing its military preparations and preventing the development of East-West relations. It fears peaceful co-existence as if it was doomsday. Its armed forces have still not left the military bases it occupies thousands of miles from its shore including our Formosa and the bases in Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and the countries of Western Europe.

By the end of the second world war it was already too late to use a smoke screen of "defence against communism" and "anti-communism" to cover up a plot to rule the whole world. Imperialism of course absolutely detests the socialist countries but imperialists also know that the great and united socialist countries are not to be overthrown. For this reason America's most important activity is now to use the "anti-communism" slogan to make it easier to suppress its own peoples and as far as possible to control and interfere in the broad zone of countries between the socialist countries and America itself.

Every day and from every side opposition to this activity of the U.S. imperialists grows in volume and the contradictions within the body of capitalism become deeper and deeper. At present the colonies and people who suffered or still suffer the calamity of colonialism are more and more aware that the greatest and greediest colonialist is American imperialism. In Africa and Asia more and more nationally independent countries are adopting a policy of peace and neutrality, refusing to join America's aggressive military blocs and vigorously restricting the colonial growth of American

imperialism.

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More and more of the Western countries are gradually coming to see through America's expansive policy and the dangers it entails for them and are refusing to be tied to the American chariot and are supporting the neutral tendency towards peaceful co-existence with socialist countries. The greatest allies of the U.S., Britain and France, are trying to use U.S. strength to maintain their vested interests but in fact the result of following America's policy of expanding military preparations has only been to open a path for American encroachment and the heavy burden of military expenditure is increasingly preventing their economic development. This is why her most important allies are becoming more discontented and opposed to U.S. monopoly and control. It has in particular increased the contradictions between Britain and the U.S. At the same time the masses of the Western countries are developing a broad movement of peace and democracy in opposition to the U.S. policy of increasing war preparations. The American people are also gradually coming to realise that this policy increases their burdens and the threat of war. Even within the U.S. ruling clique there are some comparatively clear-headed people who are gradually realising that the war policy does not even benefit the United States.

The foreign policy of the ruling circles of Britain and France is in a state of contradiction and confusion. Despite the fact that the influence of the current overall international situation has to some extent increased the desire of Britain and France for peaceful co-existence they are still trying to maintain their colonial privileges and do not wish to abandon a threatening policy which they have adopted towards the national independence movement. This situation has been illustrated with particular clarity in the developments which have followed Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal. The British and French Governments thought to use the method of military intervention to destroy the sacred sovereignty of Egypt and to seize the Canal again. The U.S. on the one hand supported the aggressive activities of Britain and France and on the other hand tried to use the opportunity to grab their interests in the Middle East. The struggle between the aggressive policy of the imperialists and the anti-aggression movement of the nationally independent countries is becoming steadily sharper in the Middle East. The broad sympathy of the world is with Egypt and public opinion throughout the world in general advocates a peaceful solution of the dispute over the Suez Canal. If Britain and France reject the path of a peaceful solution and engage in armed intervention they cannot but encounter the heroic resistance of the peoples of Egypt and the other Arab States and will indeed arouse the resolute opposition of the broad masses in the socialist camp, Asia, Africa, Latin America and also the Western countries. The world wants peace. Adopting a policy of military interference over the Suez Canal and other national independence movements can only result in overwhelming defeat.

U.S. imperialism will undoubtedly continue to create tension and to oppress all people whom they can get at. The threat of war therefore still exists. In this connexion it would be a mistake to lower our guard. Humanity's struggle for peace must continue and still has a tortuous road to follow but in general the future is bright. So long as all the socialist countries and peaceful and democratic forces throughout the world are united and strive together lasting peace and human progress will win the final victory.

China's unshakeable international policy is to strive for world peace and human progress. In the last few years our work in this field has been successful. In their revolutionary struggle the Chinese people had the support of the camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union. Soon after its establishment the Chinese People's Republic signed a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union. The facts of recent years prove that the great Sino-Soviet alliance is a powerful pillar of peace in the Far East and the whole world. The Soviet Union has afforded us great assistance in our socialist construction. The people's democratic states of Europe and Asia have also helped us in every way. This comradely assistance from brotherly states will never be forgotten by the Chinese people. This assistance was, and is and will be indispensable to us. China and the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have established an unbreakable solidarity and friendship on the basis of their common aims and mutual assistance. China's

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highest international obligation is to continue to consolidate and strengthen this solidarity and friendship and this is the basis of our foreign policy.

China has itself suffered the calamity of colonialism and China's territory Formosa is still under U.S. control. The Chinese people feel the warmest sympathy and will give positive assistance to all oppressed peoples and invaded countries who struggle against colonialism and to maintain their independence. Our victory in this struggle, whether in Asia, Africa or Latin America, will strengthen the forces of peace.

China to a great extent shares a common past, a common situation and common aspirations with the other Asian countries which have just liberated themselves from colonial rule. In our general international relations and particularly in our mutual relations we all share the desire for a mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each others internal matters, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. The five principles which China and India were the first to put forward embody these common demands. We have already established friendly relations with many Asian countries on the basis of these principles and thus promoted peace in that area.

We are striving on the basis of these principles first of all to establish harmonious relations with all our neighbours. We have a deep traditional friendship for these countries and there are no indissoluble disputes. Between us and some of our neighbours there remain a few problems bequeathed by history. Imperialism is trying to use this fact to impede and wreck the friendly relations which we are developing with our neighbours. However such attempts are doomed to fail. A solution for all problems between us and our neighbours can be sought on the basis of the five principles through peaceful negotiations. It fits our interests and also those of our neighbours to develop and establish friendly relations with our neighbours.

We have already established regular relations with some Western countries in Europe.

We are prepared to establish diplomatic relations with all countries which have not yet established diplomatic relations with us. This will benefit both parties. On the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence we do not reject any country. As for the U.S. we hope to peacefully co-exist with her. But the U.S. has consistently maintained a hostile attitude to us, has invaded and occupied our Formosa, has sent agents to carry out subversive activities against China, has blockaded us and has strained every nerve to keep China out of international affairs and has laid violent hands on our lawful seat at the United Nations. Despite all this our government is still trying to solve our disputes with the U.S. by peaceful negotiation. We have proposed again and again a Foreign Ministers' conference between China and the U.S. which would solve, relax and eliminate the problem of tension in the Taiwan area. China's efforts are aimed at relaxing international tension and are without any aggressive significance. The whole world knows that we are not afraid to pay to preserve the independence and security of our motherland. But the U.S. Government's attitude to us is still far from realistic and reasonable. With what result? Despite all the vile tricks which U.S. imperialism has used to wreck China and its attempts to isolate us, the great new China occupies an exalted position in the world. Right is on our side and the broad sympathy of the world is with us. It is not China but U.S. imperialism that is isolated. If U.S. imperialism wants to avoid further disputes it has only one way out, that is to adopt a realistic and reasonable attitude to us and the American people themselves are well aware of this.

The peoples of China and the world all need peace and all need to increase friendly economic and cultural intercourse. In recent years China has joined in all international activities which favour world peace and has actively developed economic and cultural intercourse with all peoples and

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has developed communication with organisations and personages of other countries. Despite the numerous artificial barriers our international contacts become more numerous every day. Facts prove that the Iron Curtain is not with us. Our doors are open to everybody.

This is our basic policy for dealing with foreign affairs. We will maintain it in the future.

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Extract from HSIN HUA NEWS AGENCY RELEASE of September 26, 1956

publica on science, culture and art, and shall also exchange apparatus as well as specimens of educational and cultural value.

Article VIII

The two contracting parties shall promote co-operation in the fields of journalism and broadcasting, and shall send delegations of visiting journalists to the other party's country.

The two contracting parties shall send from among the staff of their state news agencies or government organs one permanent correspondent to be stationed in each other's country.

Article IX

For the purpose of carrying out this agreement the two contracting parties shall appoint in February every year delegates to hold meetings to discuss the implemental possibilities of both parties and fix the working plan of the following year.

Article X

The financial obligations of each party concerning the implementation of the yearly working plan will be dealt with separately by the delegates referred to in Article IX.

Article XI

In order to facilitate the implementation of this agreement both parties shall nominate a cultural liaison officer who will be responsible for all contacts relating to cultural cooperation.

Article XII

This agreement shall be ratified by both governments. It shall enter into force on the day of the exchange of the instruments of ratification in Peking. Any revision of this agreement shall be effective when signed by both governments.

Each party may terminate this agreement by giving the other party a six months written notice of its intention to terminate it.

In faith thereof, the said parties have signed the present agreement, of which there shall be Arabic, Chinese and English versions, all three texts being equally authentic.

Done in duplicate in Cairo this 15th day of April, 1956 end item

092508 Chen Yi's Speech at Party Congress

Peking, Sept. 25—Chen Yi, member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council, today made a speech to the Congress of the Chinese Communist Party.

His speech, entitled "The Present International Situation and Our Foreign Policy," reads in full as follows:

Comrades,

I fully endorse Comrade Mao Tse-tung's opening speech and the reports which Comrades Liu Shao-chi, Teng Hsiao-ping and Chou En-lai made on behalf of the Central Committee of the Party.

Our entire Party and the people of the whole country are concentrating all possible efforts on the task of building China into a prosperous, strong, and highly industrialized socialist state. To fulfil this gigantic task, it is necessary to secure a peaceful international environment over a fairly long period. This is precisely the basis of our foreign policy. Here I would like to make some observations on the present international situation and our foreign policy.

The characteristic features of the present international situation are: the forces fighting for

and in defence of peace the world over are daily growing while the international reactionary forces pursuing a policy of war and aggression are becoming daily weakened and isolated. With this change in the relative strength the international situation has definitely tended towards relaxation.

Since the Second World War, the U.S. monopoly circles, who made a good deal of bad money during the war without sustaining any serious loss, have been carrying on frantic expansionist activities militarily, politically, and economically in their bid for world domination. They have not only brought about the militarization of their own national economy, but have also compelled the states which follow them to do the same. They have forced many countries to conclude humiliating agreements with the U.S.A., lined up a number of aggressive military blocs, established widespread military bases outside their own country, rearmed Western Germany and Japan, kept on creating world tension, and openly resorted to the threat of atomic war. These aggressive and expansionist activities of the U.S. monopoly circles have been carried out under the anti-communist flag. It is true that U.S. monopoly circles hate the socialist states, and they have always harboured the intention of trying to overthrow the socialist states. But the anti-communist flag has been conveniently used to cover up their activities in the countries outside the socialist camp. These activities include political and economic expansion, interference in the domestic affairs of these countries, violation of their sovereignty and national interests, suppression of their movements for democracy and national independence, scramble for markets. This policy of "cold war" and "strength" is actually a policy of intimidation and black-mail by means of war.

The U.S. monopoly circles have tried every possible means, including military encirclements, trade embargoes, subversive activities, and even armed intervention, to check the development of the socialist countries in a vain attempt to restore the capitalist system in these countries. However, what the U.S. monopoly circles attempt to do is one thing; whether their attempts will meet with success is quite another. The growth and unity of the socialist states has definitely doomed these attempts to failure.

Today, socialism has grown beyond the borders of a single country into a strong world system comprising over one third of the world's population and more than one fourth of the world's area. The tremendous progress which the socialist states have made in all spheres of construction testifies to the indisputable superiority of the socialist system. The great Soviet Union has embarked on the 6th Five-Year Plan. The Soviet people are striving with confidence for the realization of their basic economic task in the shortest period possible, that is, the task of catching up with and surpass the most developed capitalist countries in per capita output. China and the other people's democracies are also developing their national economy at a very rapid pace.

The socialist states have forged among themselves ties of great indestructible fraternal friendship. Our relations are those of co-operation, based on equality and mutual benefit, those of mutual respect, mutual assistance, for common progress. In all these socialist countries, Marxism-

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Leninism is the guiding thought and we all have a common ideal and a common goal in the realization of communism. We have sufficient conditions for co-operation in the field of the national economy, for the exchange of technical experience, for ensuring the most effective utilization of our natural resources and the common development of our national economy. All our socialist countries are pursuing a peaceful foreign policy, giving each other support in defending the cause of world peace, and marching forward side by side. All this provides the basis for the close unity and invincibility of our socialist countries.

The fact that the socialist states are strong and solid is of immense international significance. The socialist states which are daily growing in strength and unity afford a strong protection for world peace and have created unprecedentedly favourable historical conditions for the development and victory of the movements for national independence.

Since the Second World War, another development of world-historic significance is that the struggle waged by the colonial and semi-colonial peoples against colonialism and for their national independence has developed to new heights and has continuously scored an unbroken series of successes. In the Second World War, the victory in the anti-fascist war with the Soviet Union as the main force was an important factor in giving encouragement to this struggle. The victory of the Chinese revolution dealt another telling blow at the imperialist colonial system. At present, not only have the Asian and African peoples gained new victories in their struggles against colonialism, but the peoples of Latin America have thrown themselves into the struggle against colonialism. During the ten years since the end of the war, over 1,200,000,000 people, that is, nearly half of the world's population have liberated their countries from the status of colony or semi-colony. Even those countries which remain in colonial or semi-colonial dependence or are still economically dependent on the imperialists are no longer "the most reliable" and "inexhaustible" reserve forces of the imperialists. The imperialist colonial system has collapsed beyond salvage.

As early as November, 1919, Lenin in his report at the All-Russia 2nd Congress of the Communist Organizations of the Oriental Nations had pointed out:

"With the awakening of the East, the time has come in the modern revolution when all the peoples of the East will take a hand in deciding the fate of the world and not merely be objects for the enrichment of others. The peoples of the East are awakening and are ready for practical action. They will join in deciding the question of the destiny of mankind."

The great prophecy of Lenin has already come true.

For a long time, the oppressed nations of the East, which constitute the majority of the world's population, had been looked down upon as backward, to be humiliated and exploited by others at will, and they, therefore, had had no say in world affairs. This situation is fundamentally changed. Now, just as Lenin had anticipated, the oppressed nations of the East have awakened, and have roused themselves for practical action. They have found sympathy and reliable support in the

socialist countries. They are no longer the great rear of the imperialists; but, on the contrary, they have gradually become the positive force in promoting the progress of mankind. Under communist leadership, some of the formerly colonial and semi-colonial nations are already on the road to socialism; and others, under nationalist leadership, have won national independence. However, regardless of the different steps through which they won freedom and independence, these nations that now hold their fate in their own hands are at one in their effort to safeguard their sovereignty and independence. Here, mention must be made of the righteous action of Egypt in nationalizing the Suez Canal Company. This righteous struggle of the Egyptian people has given encouragement to the people of the various countries who are opposed to colonialism, and it has commanded the strong support of the peoples of all Asian and African countries as well as all nations and peoples in the world that love peace and justice. The era when the Western colonial powers could shape the fate of the oriental nations at will is definitely gone. Certain top-ranking leaders of the Western countries are not willing to take cognizance of the reality of the awakening of the East, the awakening of Asia and Africa, and they have committed serious mistakes. If they do not correct this biased view, they will yet commit more serious mistakes. In order to open their eyes, I reiterate this point here. It is of benefit to them.

In order to put to an end their economic and cultural backwardness brought about by long years of colonial rule, the nations which have just won independence from colonial rule deeply realize the importance of safe-guarding world peace and of co-operation between nations. Therefore, they have been exerting their efforts steadily towards the realization of this lofty goal, and have already made important contributions. All of us still remember the positive role played by the five Colombo countries—India, Burma, Indonesia, Ceylon, and Pakistan—in bringing about the agreement reached at the Geneva conference on the restoration of peace in Indo-China. We should also mention the outstanding contributions made by our great neighbour, India, as a world power, in striving for peace and in promoting friendship between the peoples of various countries. The first Asian-African conference in history convened at Bandung in 1955 has convincingly proven that the peoples of Asian and African countries have not only steadily grown more united in their common struggle against colonialism and for national independence, but also have become a new mighty political force in world arena in safe-guarding world peace and in promoting peaceful co-existence between nations. Now, many important international questions, especially those which directly concern Asian and African countries, cannot be solved without the participation of the Asian and African countries concerned or when the will of these countries is ignored.

The colonialists cannot reconcile themselves to the rapid collapse of their colonial system. The U.S. monopoly circles, the most predatory colonialists in the world today, are not only doing their utmost to prop up the tottering colonial system, but also are attempting to expand their own colonial rule by employing new methods of colonial en-

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slavement. However, no matter how many "new brands" of colonial enslavement the U.S. monopoly circles put out, the people of the various countries who have long suffered from colonial rule will not be deceived. In Asian and African areas, more and more nationally independent countries have adopted the peaceful neutral policy and are strongly resisting the intrigues of the U.S. monopoly circles. They refuse to join military blocs of an aggressive character, refuse to be used as bases for, or instruments of, aggressive wars; they reject the so-called aid with strings attached, and they will not allow the colonialists to control and enslave them again through such "aid." They oppose the attempt of the U.S. monopoly circles to sow dissension and antagonism between the countries of Asia and Africa; they are exerting their effort to promote peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation between nations.

The U.S. monopoly circles carry on their colonial expansion under the banner of combating communism. But, from their own personal experience, the people who have suffered, or are now suffering, from colonialism know that the socialist states support the struggles of all oppressed nations and oppose colonialism in any form. Unlike the imperialist countries, the socialist states adopt a policy of peaceful co-existence and friendly co-operation towards countries which have just shaken off colonial rule. The five principles of peaceful co-existence initiated by China, India and Burma is the demonstration of such a policy. In developing their independent national economy and in raising the living standards of their people, the countries which have just won independence need not beg from their former oppressors; they can look forward to the help without conditions attached to it from the socialist states in matters of modernized equipment and technical experience. The friendship and co-operation between nationally independent countries and the socialist states are developing day by day. The struggle against colonialism and the struggle for peace have been closely connected into one.

In the meanwhile, the broad masses of the people in all the capitalist countries are extensively carrying on the movement against war and in defence of peace. Those who participate in this movement include not only the masses of workers, peasants, and intellectuals, but also bourgeois personages in growing numbers. These people begin to see through, more and more clearly, the anti-communist smoke screen put out by the U.S. monopoly circles. They see clearly that it is not the Soviet Union, new China, or any other socialist state, but the U.S. monopoly circles with their policy of war that are threatening their interests. It is precisely this policy of the U.S. monopoly circles that is causing them to bear heavy military expenses and bringing them the danger of war. They support the proposals of the socialist countries for general reduction of armaments, the complete outlawing of atomic and nuclear weapons, and immediate halt to the experimentation and test explosions of these weapons. They welcome the practical steps the socialist states have taken in reducing their armed forces, cutting down their armaments and military expenditures. They know that to guarantee the security and peace of Europe and Asia, the socialist states have put forward a non-exclusive system of collective security and

collective peace to replace the antagonistic military blocs now in existence. They have seen that for the relaxation of international tension, the socialist states have all along upheld the principle of settling international disputes by peaceful means, the peaceful co-existence of countries of different social systems, and the implementation of economic and cultural co-operation. Now, the struggles of the people of the capitalist countries of the world for improvement of living conditions, against armament expansion, for peace, and against war are becoming an important factor in defence of peace.

The opposition of the broad masses of the people in capitalist countries to the plan of the U.S. monopoly circles for aggression and war cannot but also influence the foreign policy of these countries. Apart from countries that have recently won their national independence, an increasing number of countries, including some north European countries, are unwilling to become the objectives of U.S. expansion and unwilling to plunge into the whirlpool of military adventure and the arms drive. They refuse to join the military blocs organized by the U.S.A. and have adopted a policy of peaceful co-existence with socialist countries. Even among the countries which have joined the military blocs organized by the United States, there are also increasing indications of a trend towards peaceful neutrality. Even in Western Germany and Japan, the defeated countries still under U.S. occupation, there are more and more people who demand that the domination of the United States should be shaken off and who advocate the adoption of a policy of peaceful neutrality. The U.S. monopoly circles have called this policy of neutrality "immoral." In point of fact, it is not the policy of neutrality that is immoral, but the policy of war pursued by the U.S. monopoly circles themselves. The facts prove that the policy of neutrality adopted in the face of the U.S. policy of war by these capitalist countries completely conforms to their own interests and benefits the safeguarding of world peace. At present, this trend towards neutrality in these countries is getting to be a daily broadening course and is exerting a more and more important influence in world affairs.

Great changes have also taken place in the imperialist camp. Because economically Britain and France have attained a certain measure of rehabilitation and development, the monopoly enjoyed for a time after the Second World War by the United States is now shaken. This has further intensified the contradictions within the imperialist camp, particularly the contradictions between the United States and Britain. The major European allies of the United States have attempted to ensure their super profits by following the lead of the U.S. monopoly circles in pursuing the arms drive and making war preparations and, at the same time, they have attempted to maintain their vested interests by capitalizing on their position as the allies of the United States. But in both cases their expectations have come to nothing. Instead, they have discovered that the heavy burden of military expenditure has become a serious hindrance to their own economic development, while the United States has been taking advantage of its position as their allies to deprive them of their vested interests and violate their

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sovereignty. On the other hand, the policy pursued by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries for trade and economic co-operation with all countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, the initiative they have taken in reducing their armed forces and military expenditure, and many other measures they have adopted in the struggle for peace cannot but also exert a strong influence on these major European allies of the United States. It is no accident, therefore, that since the beginning of this year, the trend towards peaceful co-existence has made some headway in these countries. However, towards the national independence movements of Asian and African countries, these countries in general, and Britain and France in particular, often fail to adopt an attitude that is realistic and suited to the temper of the times. A glaring example of this is that, recently, on the question of the Suez Canal, Britain and France, relying on the support of the United States, have threatened Egypt with the use of force and even sought to carry out an adventurist plan of war provocation to rob Egypt of her sovereignty over the Suez Canal. In the fifties of the twentieth century, the 'gun-boat policy' definitely cannot serve the imperialists any more as a means of maintaining their colonial interests. If Britain and France continue to pursue this policy, they will not only come up against the resistance of the peoples fighting for or defending their national independence, and the opposition of all upright, peace-loving people in the world and so inevitably land themselves in defeat in the end, but also let slip the opportunity of establishing on a new basis friendly relations of equality and mutual benefit with Eastern countries. In pursuing this policy by relying on the strength of the United States, Britain and France will, apart from laying open whatever they still possess to the grasping hands of the U.S., only find themselves in a situation where they will have to obey more U.S. dictates in engineering international tension and obstructing peaceful co-existence of all countries.

Within the United States itself, the war policy of the monopoly circles has also aroused widespread dissatisfaction and opposition. The policy of the arms drive and war preparations has imposed a heavy burden of military expenditure on the broad masses of the working people as well as on the small enterprises, but brought unprecedented, huge profits to the monopoly circles. The production of and experimenting on weapons of vast destructive power has also made the American people realize what colossal calamities will be brought them by the war policy of the U.S. monopoly circles. For this reason the American people are unceasingly struggling for the safeguarding of their personal interests and for peace. In the latest election campaign in the United States, the two bourgeois political parties have been obliged to put forward slogans of peace. Within the U.S. ruling circles, a more clear-sighted section of people have also begun to realize that to continue to carry out the policy of the arms drive and war preparations will not only result in the greater isolation of the United States, but also bring serious consequences to the economy of the United States itself. Very recently, a section of the ruling circles in the U.S. have begun to advocate the reduction of armed forces, the lifting

of embargo, and the adoption of a more realistic attitude towards international affairs. They demand an agonizing re-appraisal of foreign policy. Much as these suggestions are not thorough-going, much as they have not become dominant within the U.S. ruling circles, the very fact that they have been made indicates the sorry plight in which the policy of war pursued by the monopoly cliques now finds itself.

Working for the common objective of striving for peace and opposing war, all the peace-loving forces in the world are now merging into a mighty stream. The present international situation is favourable to world peace, and unfavourable to the war schemes of the monopoly circles in their attempt to establish world domination. There is no doubt whatsoever that the possibilities for winning peace and averting war have greatly increased.

But it is certain that the U.S. aggressive bloc will not of itself give up its plots for war and aggression. The struggle between the international forces of peace and the forces of war will still be a prolonged and unremitting one. It would be a serious mistake if, in this struggle, we were to lose our vigilance against the danger of war. In order to win consolidated and lasting peace, we still have to make unremitting and greater efforts together with all the peace-loving countries and peoples throughout the world.

Ever since the day of its inauguration, the People's Republic of China has made its appearance in the international arena as a force that safeguards and consolidates world peace.

All efforts made by the Chinese people are aimed at building China into a prosperous, happy, socialist, industrial country. We need a peaceful international environment for such peaceful labour. This essential fact determines our peaceful policy in foreign relations. As is laid down in the Preamble to the Constitution of the People's Republic of China: "In international affairs our firm and consistent policy is to strive for the noble cause of world peace and the progress of humanity."

In accordance with these principles and policy the Chinese people have, over the past seven years, safeguarded the independence and security of their motherland, dealt blows to the breakers of peace, and made important contributions towards bringing about a relaxation in international tension and promoting international friendship and co-operation.

The growing strength, unity and solidarity of socialist countries form the cornerstone that safeguards world peace. The Chinese people regard the consolidation and development of the unity and co-operation of their own country with the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies as a task of first-rate importance. Shortly after its birth the People's Republic of China concluded the Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance with the great Soviet Union; this great alliance between China and the Soviet Union has become a powerful guarantee of peace in the Far East and the world. China has established a lasting and unbreakable fraternal friendship with the Soviet Union and all the other socialist countries. The imperialists have used all means to carry out provocations among us in their attempt to disrupt our friendship and unity. But their despicable tricks have all ended in ignominious defeat.

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Continuing in the tradition of modesty and respect for others and strictly guarding ourselves against any possible tendency towards great-nation chauvinism and nationalism, China has, with each passing day, more and more consolidated and developed the close co-operation and unity she has established with the other socialist countries. To continue to consolidate and develop this friendship and unity remains to be our cardinal task.

As the Chinese people have long suffered from the scourge of colonialism, it is quite natural for them to sympathize deeply with all struggles against colonialism and for safeguarding national independence. During the Asian-African Conference, China and other Asian-African countries have solemnly declared that colonialism in all its manifestations is an evil which should speedily be brought to an end. Whether on the question of India's regaining possession of Goa, or on the question of Indonesia's regaining possession of West Irian, or on the question of the nationalization of the Suez Canal Company by Egypt, or on other questions relating to opposition to colonialism and safeguarding of national independence, China has always firmly stood on the side of the nations which are the victims of oppression and aggression. The Egyptians and the people of other Arabic countries are at present in the western forefront of the struggle against colonialism, the Chinese people give full support to their heroic struggle. Struggles for and in defence of national independence in any part of the world form an important part of the struggle in defence of world peace. We shall continue to give resolute support to all such struggles aimed at winning and safeguarding national independence.

It is the firm conviction of China that countries with different social systems should live together at peace. Together with India and Burma, China initiated the Five Principles of mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence. China strictly adheres to these five principles in its international relations. To China, these five principles are not by any means temporary and expedient tactics, but our basic policy in the conduct of foreign relations. China had for long years in the past been trampled under the iron-heel of imperialism, and it was only after untold hardships that she had won her independence. We resolutely demand that other countries respect our territorial integrity and sovereignty, as we unequivocally respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other countries. We have grown up in the struggles against aggression and oppression, and we fully understand the sufferings of being victims of aggression. Even now, we still suffer from U.S. aggression; but we are fully convinced that the aggressors are doomed to failure. On our part, we shall never launch aggression against others. It is only after long years of struggles that we won the right to choose our own social system. We firmly believe that revolution is not for export; we shall never interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. We have for long years been discriminated against by imperialism and fettered by unequal treaties, and in the prolonged struggles for national independence we have accumulated the experience of uniting for the common struggle with all the na-

tions of the world that treat us on an equal footing. We are willing to establish economic and cultural contacts and co-operation with all the countries and peoples on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and without any strings whatsoever. As we have been compelled to live for long years in the throes of protracted wars, we understand profoundly the value of peace. Hence, now we not only require a peaceful international environment for our socialist construction, but even in the future when we have brought the work of building socialism to a successful conclusion, we shall also exert all our efforts to safeguard world peace.

It cannot be denied that there are still countries and people abroad who show a lack of understanding or even entertain misgivings about such a new and rising country as China. This is so, especially because of imperialist slanders. The imperialists are afraid of the far-reaching influence which the victory of the Chinese revolution has brought about and the mighty force derived from the solidarity of the six hundred million Chinese people with other countries and peoples. They have therefore concocted all manners of slander to vilify New China and have cast aspersions among other countries, in an attempt to drive a wedge between China and other countries. But the facts have proved that such calumny and provocations will not stand any test. Barriers and lack of understanding between nations can be removed. In this connection, the wide contacts between China and other countries and the friendly visits paid to each other have played a great role. The contacts established between leaders of China and other countries have also done much to promote mutual understanding and to bring about an improvement in our relations. We have played host to various sections of people from different countries who have come to visit China. We have sent delegations abroad to return these courtesies. We have established contacts with many countries through these comings and goings which serve to increase mutual confidence, remove misunderstanding and foster the growth of friendship. We must continue to make efforts to strengthen our work in this regard.

At the inauguration of the People's Republic of China, Chairman Mao Tse-tung announced to the whole world: "This Government is willing to establish diplomatic relations with any government which is willing to observe the principles of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty." By now we have established diplomatic relations with 28 countries embracing a population of more than 1,000 million. Moreover, we have established economic and cultural relations with a still greater number of countries and people. On the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence, China has established relations of friendly co-operation with many Asian and African countries. China also has established normal relations with the north European countries and other countries on the European continent. In spite of the fact that normal international trade is still being obstructed by embargo and that international exchange of culture is marred by man-made obstacles, the trade and cultural relations between China and other countries have made great strides forward over the last few years. Owing to outside pressure,

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some countries, for the time being, are still prevented from establishing normal diplomatic relations with us. We are convinced, however, that such a situation will not last long. Some countries are trying to fly in the face of facts and attempt to bar New China from international affairs. But such an attitude will only result in rousing increasing opposition at home and abroad and in having themselves more and more isolated. There are other countries which vainly try to create what they call "two-Chinas," that is to say, they are trying to make out the Chinese province of Taiwan as another China, or as another country with an independent existence. Such plots to interfere with the internal affairs of China constitute an encroachment on the sovereignty of our country. The Chinese people are determined to oppose such plots which stand no chance of success.

China is willing to live side by side in peace with all countries. With a view to improving and further developing our relations with other countries, we must continue to make constant efforts to this end. We must actively further our friendly relations with countries in Asia and Africa, and with our neighbours in particular. As to the practical questions concerning these countries and China which we have inherited from the old regime, we must also continue to make an effort, in the spirit of the five principles of peaceful co-existence, to gradually seek a solution by means of peaceful consultation. We must guard against attempts on the part of the imperialists to make use of these questions to sow dissension between us. As regards the Western countries, we must also try to improve and develop our relations with them. Our policy of peaceful co-existence excludes no one, not even the United States of America.

The United States has all along taken a hostile attitude towards the People's Republic of China. The People's Republic of China was established in circumstances where the American armed intervention had come to naught. Not long after the founding of the People's Republic of China, the United States began menacing China and embarked upon its aggression against our country from Korea, Indochina and Taiwan, on what they called a "three-pronged front." Up to the present, the United States is still occupying our territory, Taiwan, and trying to interfere in the liberation of our off-shore islands.

China has put up resolute resistance to the armed intervention and acts of aggression on the part of the United States. For we know full well that only by putting up determined resistance to aggression can we preserve peace. Facts have proved that only by making a determined effort to protect our national independence and the security of our country will the aggressors gradually come to their senses and will they be impelled to settle international disputes through peaceful consultation. Meanwhile, we have not let slip any possibility of relaxing tensions, and China has made contributions to bringing about armistice in Korea and the restoration of peace in Indochina. Even with regard to the dispute between China and the United States in the Taiwan area, China has put forward concrete proposals to hold a meeting between China and the United States on the foreign minister level for peaceful consultation.

The encroachment upon Taiwan and the inter-

ference in the internal affairs of China by the United States is meeting with the opposition of increasing numbers of countries and broad masses of the people of the world. American penetration in the political, economic and cultural fields in Taiwan and the domination it is trying to establish there, has further aroused our compatriots in Taiwan, including the military and political personnel of the Kuomintang, to more and more intensified discontent and resistance. Our great motherland is growing stronger and stronger with each passing day. The possibility of bringing about a peaceful liberation of Taiwan is increasing too. Nevertheless, whatever form the liberation of Taiwan will take, Taiwan is sure to return to the bosom of our motherland. Nothing can stop the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan. If the United States does not abandon its policy of encroaching upon Taiwan and interfering with the internal affairs of our country, then it will only find itself sinking deeper and deeper into the quagmire from which it can never hope to extricate itself.

Comrades! The international situation is favourable to the socialist construction in our country and to the accomplishment of our task of liberating Taiwan. Our country and people have scored successes in their efforts to bring about a peaceful international environment. For the sake of world peace and the progress of humanity, we must strengthen our solidarity with all the peace-loving forces in the world, and carry on the struggle. We are convinced that under the firm and correct leadership of our Party, the Chinese people will achieve still greater successes and win still more glorious victories in their great work of socialist construction and in the noble cause of preserving world peace and item

092509 Japanese Industrialist on Japanese Commodity Exhibition

Peking, Sept. 25—The Japanese Commodity Exhibition due to open here shortly "has the important mission of extending trade between Japan and China." This statement was made by Eiichi Shukudani, leader of the Japanese Commodity Exhibition Delegation, at a press conference here today.

He said that the exhibition was part of the great efforts made by Japanese industrialists and businessmen to remove the trade embargo.

Shukudani said he was convinced that "the extension of trade and cultural exchange will help to restore and advance normal diplomatic relations between the two countries."

Describing the preparations for the exhibition, Shukudani said that the 50,000 exhibits of 15,000 categories would "far surpass the scale of any previous commodity exhibition held by Japan abroad." The exhibits were provided by 310 manufacturers and had been made in over 1,000 factories in various parts of Japan. This wide variety was due to the support given by the League of Diet Members for the Promotion of Sino-Japanese Trade, the League of Local Parliament Members for the Promotion of International Trade, 57 industrial and commercial organisations, 59 local self-government organisations and broad sections of people in Japan.

It was most regrettable, Shukudani said, that some of the exhibits which could show Japanese in-

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Enclosure to Peking despatch No. 266 "B" of September 28, 1956.

Extract from Mao Tse-tung's opening speech at the 8th Congress
of the Chinese Communist Party

"Internationally our victory has been obtained with the support of the camp of peace, democracy and socialism led by the Soviet Union and with the warm sympathy of peace loving peoples throughout the world. Current developments in international affairs are still more favourable to our national construction. China and all socialist countries need peace and peoples throughout the world also need peace. The only people who look forward to war and do not want peace are a few monopoly capitalist elements within the imperialist countries who make their money from aggression. Thanks to the unceasing efforts of the peace loving countries and peoples, the international situation is already tending towards relaxation. We must yet further develop friendly co-operation with our brothers within the socialist camp and strengthen our unity with all peace loving countries in order to obtain lasting peace. We must strive to establish regular diplomatic relations with all countries who wish to live at peace with us on a basis of mutual respect for sovereignty and reciprocal advantage. We must give active support to the national liberation movements in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America and to the peace movements and righteous struggles within all countries of the world. We resolutely support the entirely legal action of the Egyptian Government in taking over the Suez Canal Company and we resolutely oppose any plot to infringe Egyptian sovereignty or interfere militarily in Egypt. We must ensure that the imperialist plots to create tension and to prepare for war are utterly smashed."

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The Political Report of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party to the Eighth Party Congress delivered by Liu Shao-ch'i on September 15, 1956

Section V - International Affairs

In order to build China into a great socialist country we must not only unite all unitable internal forces but also strive to obtain the most favourable conditions internationally and to unite all unitable international forces.

What is our present international situation?

In general the present international situation favours the socialist construction of China. This is because since the second world war the forces of socialism, national independence, democracy and peace have undergone an unprecedented development and the imperialist aggressive bloc's policy of extending itself as far as possible, opposing peaceful co-existence and preparing for a new world war has become less and less acceptable. In these circumstances the world cannot but tend towards relaxation and permanent peace in the world has begun to become possible.

When the Soviet people began socialist construction after the October Revolution there was no second socialist country in the world, but now, as the Chinese people begin socialist construction, the situation is radically different. Since the end of the second world war not only has the Soviet Union become much stronger but new socialist countries have emerged in Europe and Asia. Today the socialist countries including China already number 900 million people which is one-third of the world's population and occupy a continuous geographical bloc which constitutes the friendly family of socialist countries led by the Soviet Union. The relations between us are fraternal, friendly and cooperative and they are continually increasing and growing stronger. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have already restored friendly relations with Yugoslavia. China has established diplomatic relations with Yugoslavia and developed friendly communication.

The socialist countries are now mobilising all their internal strength for the peaceful construction of socialism and their industrial and agricultural production is developing at a speed which the capitalist countries can hardly match. In our foreign policy we hold resolutely to a policy of peace and advocate peaceful co-existence and friendly cooperation between all countries. We are confident of the superiority of the socialist system and do not fear competition with the capitalist countries. Our policy is in the interests of all people. All forces which love peace, demand national independence and strive for social progress will receive our sympathy and support. The voice of the socialist countries is heard ever louder amongst the peoples of the world and their international influence grows greater every day. The socialist countries led by the Soviet Union have already become a fortress on the side of permanent world peace.

The Twentieth Party Congress of the Soviet Union held in February this year is a great political event of world significance. It not only laid down the vast sixth Five-Year Plan and many important programmes whereby socialism can be developed and condemned the serious consequences of the cult of personality within the Party but also advocated a yet further degree of peaceful co-existence and international cooperation and made the clearest contribution to the relaxation of world tension.

The strength and unity of the socialist countries is the most favourable factor for our socialist construction.

Another development of great historical significance which has followed the second world war is a broad victory of the national independence movement. In addition to the Republics of Vietnam, Korea and China which have already embarked on the socialist road there is a whole series of nationally independent countries in Asia and Africa which have thrown off the fetters of colonialism. These nationally independent countries, including our great neighbour India, have a population of over 600 million, that is one-quarter of the world's

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population. The great majority of these countries have adopted a foreign policy of peace and neutrality. They are playing a growing role in the international field. The success of the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung and the new development of many independent movements in Africa and Asia and in particular the earth-shaking event of Egypt's recent nationalisation of the Suez Canal proves that the national independence movement has already become a great world force. In the past the great majority of countries of Africa and Asia were colonies or semi-colonies of imperialism. They were the rear areas from which imperialism prepared and waged war but now they have changed into forces of peaceful co-existence opposed to both colonialism and war. The anti-colonial struggle is also developing in the countries of Latin America. Imperialism is straining every nerve to dam the flood of the national independence movement but this flood will brook no dam. In the final event this flood will sweep away for ever the colonial regimes in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

It is indubitable that the existence of the socialist countries and the sympathy and support which the socialist countries give to the national independence movement has very greatly facilitated the development and victory of this movement. At the same time the upsurge of the national independence movement has deprived imperialism of some aggressive power and helped world peace and this in its turn benefits the peaceful construction of the socialist countries. For this reason friendly cooperation between the socialist countries and the nationally independent countries is to their mutual benefit and also to the benefit of world peace.

This great historical change runs directly counter to the desires of imperialism and particularly to the desires of United States imperialism. United States monopoly capital, from the vantage point afforded by the profits it extracted from the second world war, extended its activity madly after the war. First of all it brought defeated Germany and Japan under control, robbed Britain and France of their spheres of influence in Asia and Africa and attempted to establish world hegemony. It organised military blocs, established military bases, created tension and prepared for a new war. U.S. imperialists described all these activities as "defence against Communist aggression" but their lies were finally exposed. Socialism is basically inconsistent with aggression. The socialist countries have eliminated the classes which draw profits from aggression, colonialism and foreign markets and have consequently eliminated the roots of foreign aggression. The clique within the imperialist countries which draws its profits from aggression can never want to stop aggression. Peoples of the world see very clearly that the Soviet Union, China and other socialist countries positively advocate peaceful co-existence, the development of economic and cultural relations between East and West and have gone ahead in reducing their own arms and forces and in cutting their military expenditure. U.S. imperialism on the other hand is still increasing its military preparations and preventing the development of East-West relations. It fears peaceful co-existence as if it was doomsday. Its armed forces have still not left the military bases it occupies thousands of miles from its shore including our Formosa and the bases in Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and the countries of Western Europe.

By the end of the second world war it was already too late to use a smoke screen of "defence against communism" and "anti-communism" to cover up a plot to rule the whole world. Imperialism of course absolutely detests the socialist countries but imperialists also know that the great and united socialist countries are not to be overthrown. For this reason America's most important activity is now to use the "anti-communism" slogan to make it easier to suppress its own peoples and as far as possible to control and interfere in the broad zone of countries between the socialist countries and America itself.

Every day and from every side opposition to this activity of the U.S. imperialists grows in volume and the contradictions within the body of capitalism become deeper and deeper. At present the countries and people who suffered or still suffer the calamity of colonialism are more and more aware that the greatest and greediest colonialist is American imperialism. In Africa and Asia more and more nationally independent countries are adopting a policy of peace and neutrality, refusing to join America's aggressive military blocs and vigorously restricting the colonial growth of American

imperialism.

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More and more of the Western countries are gradually coming to see through America's expansive policy and the dangers it entails for them and are refusing to be tied to the American chariot and are supporting the neutral tendency towards peaceful co-existence with socialist countries. The greatest allies of the U.S., Britain and France, are trying to use U.S. strength to maintain their vested interests but in fact the result of following America's policy of expanding military preparations has only been to open a path for American encroachment and the heavy burden of military expenditure is increasingly preventing their economic development. This is why her most important allies are becoming more discontented and opposed to U.S. monopoly and control. It has in particular increased the contradictions between Britain and the U.S. At the same time the masses of the Western countries are developing a broad movement of peace and democracy in opposition to the U.S. policy of increasing war preparations. The American people are also gradually coming to realise that this policy increases their burdens and the threat of war. Even within the U.S. ruling clique there are some comparatively clear-headed people who are gradually realising that the war policy does not even benefit the United States.

The foreign policy of the ruling circles of Britain and France is in a state of contradiction and confusion. Despite the fact that the influence of the current overall international situation has to some extent increased the desire of Britain and France for peaceful co-existence they are still trying to maintain their colonial privileges and do not wish to abandon a threatening policy which they have adopted towards the national independence movement. This situation has been illustrated with particular clarity in the developments which have followed Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez Canal. The British and French Governments thought to use the method of military intervention to destroy the sacred sovereignty of Egypt and to seize the Canal again. The U.S. on the one hand supported the aggressive activities of Britain and France and on the other hand tried to use the opportunity to grab their interests in the Middle East. The struggle between the aggressive policy of the imperialists and the anti-aggression movement of the nationally independent countries is becoming steadily sharper in the Middle East. The broad sympathy of the world is with Egypt and public opinion throughout the world in general advocates a peaceful solution of the dispute over the Suez Canal. If Britain and France reject the path of a peaceful solution and engage in armed intervention they cannot but encounter the heroic resistance of the peoples of Egypt and the other Arab States and will indeed arouse the resolute opposition of the broad masses in the socialist camp, Asia, Africa, Latin America and also the Western countries. The world wants peace. Adopting a policy of military interference over the Suez Canal and other national independence movements can only result in overwhelming defeat.

U.S. imperialism will undoubtedly continue to create tension and to oppress all people whom they can get at. The threat of war therefore still exists. In this connexion it would be a mistake to lower our guard. Humanity's struggle for peace must continue and still has a tortuous road to follow but in general the future is bright. So long as all the socialist countries and peaceful and democratic forces throughout the world are united and strive together lasting peace and human progress will win the final victory.

China's unshakeable international policy is to strive for world peace and human progress. In the last few years our work in this field has been successful. In their revolutionary struggle the Chinese people had the support of the camp of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union. Soon after its establishment the Chinese People's Republic signed a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance with the Soviet Union. The facts of recent years prove that the great Sino-Soviet alliance is a powerful pillar of peace in the Far East and the whole world. The Soviet Union has afforded us great assistance in our socialist construction. The people's democratic states of Europe and Asia have also helped us in every way. This comradely assistance from brotherly states will never be forgotten by the Chinese people. This assistance was, and is and will be indispensable to us. China and the great Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have established an unbreakable solidarity and friendship on the basis of their common aims and mutual assistance. China's

highest/

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highest international obligation is to continue to consolidate and strengthen this solidarity and friendship and this is the basis of our foreign policy.

China has itself suffered the calamity of colonialism and China's territory Formosa is still under U.S. control. The Chinese people feel the warmest sympathy and will give positive assistance to all oppressed peoples and invaded countries who struggle against colonialism and to maintain their independence. Our victory in this struggle, whether in Asia, Africa or Latin America, will strengthen the forces of peace.

China to a great extent shares a common past, a common situation and common aspirations with the other Asian countries which have just liberated themselves from colonial rule. In our general international relations and particularly in our mutual relations we all share the desire for a mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each others internal matters, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence. The five principles which China and India were the first to put forward embody these common demands. We have already established friendly relations with many Asian countries on the basis of these principles and thus promoted peace in that area.

We are striving on the basis of these principles first of all to establish harmonious relations with all our neighbours. We have a deep traditional friendship for these countries and there are no indissoluble disputes. Between us and some of our neighbours there remain a few problems bequeathed by history. Imperialism is trying to use this fact to impede and wreck the friendly relations which we are developing with our neighbours. However such attempts are doomed to fail. A solution for all problems between us and our neighbours can be sought on the basis of the five principles through peaceful negotiations. It fits our interests and also those of our neighbours to develop and establish friendly relations with our neighbours.

We have already established regular relations with some Western countries in Europe.

We are prepared to establish diplomatic relations with all countries which have not yet established diplomatic relations with us. This will benefit both parties. On the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence we do not reject any country. As for the U.S. we hope to peacefully co-exist with her. But the U.S. has consistently maintained a hostile attitude to us, has invaded and occupied our Formosa, has sent agents to carry out subversive activities against China, has blockaded us and has strained every nerve to keep China out of international affairs and has laid violent hands on our lawful seat at the United Nations. Despite all this our government is still trying to solve our disputes with the U.S. by peaceful negotiation. We have proposed again and again a Foreign Ministers' conference between China and the U.S. which would solve, relax and eliminate the problem of tension in the Taiwan area. China's efforts are aimed at relaxing international tension and are without any aggressive significance. The whole world knows that we are not afraid to pay to preserve the independence and security of our motherland. But the U.S. Government's attitude to us is still far from realistic and reasonable. With what result? Despite all the vile tricks which U.S. imperialism has used to wreck China and its attempts to isolate us, the great new China occupies an exalted position in the world. Right is on our side and the broad sympathy of the world is with us. It is not China but U.S. imperialism that is isolated. If U.S. imperialism wants to avoid further disputes it has only one way out, that is to adopt a realistic and reasonable attitude to us and the American people themselves are well aware of this.

The peoples of China and the world all need peace and all need to increase friendly economic and cultural intercourse. In recent years China has joined in all international activities which favour world peace and has actively developed economic and cultural intercourse with all peoples and

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has developed communication with organisations and personages of other countries. Despite the numerous artificial barriers our international contacts become more numerous every day. Facts prove that the Iron Curtain is not with us. Our doors are open to everybody.

This is our basic policy for dealing with foreign affairs. We will maintain it in the future.

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

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C1022/26

1956

CHINA.

FROM

Mr. O'Neil,
Peking

No. 276

Dated 10/18/58 / 56
8 Oct 1956Received in
Registry— 25/10

References to former relevant papers

-/25

-/18

Packed

(Print)

R.O.W.H.

(How disposed of)

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completed)

W.L. 14/4

(Index)

W.L. 15/10/57

References to later relevant papers

8th National Party Congress.

Handling of the Formosa question.
Account of Ulat was said
on this subject.(Copied: Hanoi, Moscow, New Delhi,
Tientsin, and Singapore.)

MINUTES

There is little news in this despatch but
in view of the importance of the subject
I suggest it should be printed F.O.W.H.

D. E. Symon

25/10

L. Symon 25/10.

del 25/10.
American Dept
F.O.R.D. (China)
J.F. 5/11

I agree. Copy sent for print.

You may care to see

O'Hall

25/10

Mr. Mayland

O'H.
26.X.

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BRITISH EMBASSY.

PEKING.

CONFIDENTIALNo. 270
1018/58/56

F C1022/26

October 6, 1956.

Sir,

In my despatch No. 266 of the 28th of September reporting the proceedings of the 8th National Party Congress regarding foreign affairs I undertook to report separately on the handling of the question of Formosa which the Chinese regard as primarily a question of internal affairs and as a question of foreign affairs only in so far as the United States maintains its present position in that area. I now have the honour to address to you an account of what was said at the Party Congress on this subject.

2. Formosa was mentioned in passing by a number of speakers as an example of the United States aggressive policy in "occupying China's Taiwan", but the only main speakers who dealt with the substance of the question were Mr. Liu Shao-chi in the Central Committee's political report delivered on the 15th of September, Marshal Chen Yi in his speech on the 25th of September reported in my despatch under reference, and Marshal Peng Teh-huai in his speech on questions of defence on the 18th of September. The island was also briefly mentioned in the resolution on the political report adopted by the Congress on the 27th of September.

3. Marshal Chen Yi in the relevant passage of his speech said that United States encroachment upon Formosa constituted interference in the internal affairs of China. He asserted that this interference was meeting with the opposition of increasing numbers of countries and "the broad masses of the people of the world". United States penetration in the political, economic and cultural fields in Formosa had, he said, aroused Chinese compatriots in Formosa "including the political and military personnel of the Kuomintang" to more and more intensified discontent and resistance. Now that China was growing stronger and stronger the possibility of bringing about a peaceful liberation of Formosa was increasing. Whatever form the liberation of Formosa would take Formosa was sure to return to the bosom of the motherland. Nothing could stop the Chinese people from liberating Formosa and if the United States did not abandon its present policy it would find itself sinking deeper and deeper into the quagmire from which it could never hope to extricate itself.

4./

The Right Honourable
Selwyn Lloyd, C.B.E., M.P.,
Foreign Office.

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4. Mr. Liu Shao-chi was much briefer in his reference to the subject and in Section IV of his report, after talking of the necessity to strengthen national defence, he merely said: "Our motherland's territory Taiwan is still under the occupation of the United States imperialists. This is a most serious threat to the security of our country. The liberation of Taiwan is purely China's internal affair. We are willing to bring Taiwan back to the embrace of the motherland through the peaceful means of negotiation, and avoid the use of force. If force has to be used, it would only be when all possibilities for peaceful negotiations have been exhausted or when peaceful negotiations have failed. Whatever means we adopt, we shall win the ultimate victory in the just cause of liberating Taiwan". Briefer still was the Congress resolution on the political report which said: "Our Government should strive for the liberation of our territory Taiwan by peaceful means but it should also stand ready to achieve the aim of liberating Taiwan by other means when peaceful settlement is found impossible." Marshal Peng Teh-huai for his part said that "the Chinese People's Liberation Army, inspired by the success of the Party Congress, will carry out their glorious task of modernisation, of liberating Taiwan and safeguarding the motherland even more effectively".

5. It will be seen from the above that Formosa did not receive nearly as much attention on this occasion as, for example, at the National People's Congress in June when, as reported in my despatch No. 203 of the 5th of July, Mr. Chou En-lai devoted a long passage of his speech to a statement of Chinese policy towards Formosa. The question was not mentioned by Chairman Mao Tse-tung in his opening speech and on the whole the subject seems to have been played down at the Party Congress. On the other hand it is perhaps significant that some of the few statements about Formosa which were made at the Party Congress seemed to imply that the Chinese authorities do not really expect that peaceful liberation will ever be achieved. This seems to emerge from what Marshal Peng Teh-huai said and also from the wording of the reference to Formosa in the resolution on the political report which talks of liberation by other means "when peaceful settlement is found impossible." I understand that this phrase is an accurate translation of the Chinese, but on the whole it seems unlikely that the wording is intended to imply any change in Chinese policy, the customary form of which emerges clearly in Liu Shao-chi's speech.

6. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington and Moscow, the Governor of Hong Kong, the United Kingdom High Commissioner at New Delhi, Her Majesty's Consul-General at Tamsui and the Commissioner-General for Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in South East Asia at Singapore.

I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

C. Rivin

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BRITISH EMBASSY,

PEKING.

CONFIDENTIALNo. 270
1018/58/56

October 6, 1956.

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Selwyn Lloyd, C.B.E., M.P..
Foreign Office.

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I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,
 Sir,
 Your obedient Servant,

Print FOWH (China)

Confidential

FC 1022/26

BRITISH EMBASSY,

PEKING.

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 270
1018/58/56A.L.H.
25/10

October 6, 1956.

Received October 25

Sir,

Chinese Policy Towards Formosa

In my despatch No. 266 of the 28th of September reporting the proceedings of the 8th National Party Congress regarding foreign affairs I undertook to report separately on the handling of the question of Formosa which the Chinese regard as primarily a question of internal affairs and as a question of foreign affairs only in so far as the United States maintains its present position in that area. I now have the honour to address to you an account of what was said at the Party Congress on this subject.

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The Right Honourable
Selwyn Lloyd, C.B.E., M.P.
Foreign Office.

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I have, etc.,

the honour to be, with the highest respect,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

C. D. W. O'Neill.

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- 4 -

of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslav Working People which has a membership amounting to several million people, is to enable the working people to participate as much as possible in these organs, because these organs have become a reality in our country. Whether or not a job of work is done well depends to a great extent on the activities of these organs. Social planning lays down and determines --- in the form of law --- the basic proportion of our national economy and social development and those that are concerned with the fate of these plans are the collectivity of the working people. Millions of workers under material stimulation are struggling to overfulfil the targets of these plans with a self-sacrificing spirit.

We, the Yugoslav communists, consider that this path is correct for it has been proved by practice, and, moreover, we maintain that if we wish to establish a genuine socialist relationship between man and man and to cause productivity to be properly and rapidly developed, such a democratic form of government should be further advanced.

As all are aware, this socialist state of ours had, for several years, been in a peculiar position internationally. However, it was just in this period that it embarked upon extensive international activities, firmly upheld peace and advocated peaceful co-existence. In accordance with these principles our country has established friendly relations with a number of countries and has strengthened friendly relations with the people of the various countries fighting for peace, freedom and independence. We hold that it has contributed greatly to the cause of peace and international cooperation and has strengthened the progressive forces in the world. This is what our government has been striving for many years.

We consider that it is of advantage to the cause of the progressive forces of the world to maintain actual contact and exchange opinions also with the socialist parties and other movements. Such contacts are favourable to clarifying many questions and help all the more to understand all the parties and all the movements and thus to promote policies for mutual cooperation, the willingness to strive for peace and peaceful co-existence, for the peaceful settlement of international issues and for the various movements of the peoples of all countries to strive to establish relations on the basis of equality.

Finally I wish to say that we Yugoslav communists and our various peoples will in future rejoice at each achievement of the Communist Party of China for this will strengthen peace, democracy and socialism in the whole world.

Long Live the great Communist Party of China!

Long Live the People of China --- Fighters in defense of Peace and of building Socialism!

Long Live Cooperation and Lasting Friendship between the Chinese People and Yugoslav People!

Long Live Socialism!

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

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C1022/27

1956

FROM Washington

CHINA

Chinese Communist attitude towards events
in Eastern Europe.No. 718 Laurie
Dated 19 October, 1956
Received in
Registry— 1/11According to Director of the Office of Chinese
Affairs, S.S., developments in Poland have
given rise to speculation that the Chinese
Communists are supporting the Poles in
their effort to assert their independence of
Soviet control. (Repl. Peking)

References to former relevant papers

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(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action
completed)KL
13/11

(Index)

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15/15/57

References to later relevant papers

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CONFIDENTIAL

INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

ADVANCE COPY

BY BAG

C 1022/27

CD - F

FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. J.E. Coulson

No. 718 Saving
of October 29, 1956

D: 11.00 a.m. October 30, 1956

R. Oct 31

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 718 Saving
of October 29
Repeated for information to: Peking No. 121 (by telegraph)

And Saving to: Moscow No. 161 Warsaw No. 18

CHINESE COMMUNIST ATTITUDE TOWARDS EVENTS IN
EASTERN EUROPE.

Director of the Office of Chinese Affairs in the State Department asked Counsellor to call today to discuss the attitude of the Chinese Communists towards recent events in Eastern Europe. The Director said that developments in Poland had given rise to a rash of speculation that the Chinese Communists were supporting the Polish effort to assert their independence of Soviet control. To counter this the State Department had sent guidance to their posts abroad, the substance of which is contained in my immediately following Saving telegram.

2. The Director added that the State Department would be glad to know whether your assessment of the Chinese attitude differed, and expressed interest in any assessment which Her Majesty's Charge d'Affaires in Peking may have made.

Foreign Office please pass to Peking by telegraph as my telegram No. 121.



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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

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C 10/22/28

CHINA

1956

FROM

Washington

No.

719 Security

Dated

29 October, 1956

Received in
Registry—

1/11

Chinese Communist attitude
toward events in Eastern Europe.Quite substance of guidance
sent by State Department to posts
abroad.
(Repeated Peking.)

References to former relevant papers

-/27

MINUTES

Now see Mr. O'Neill's comments at -/29

Ches
8/11

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action
completed)

H 13/11

(Index)

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References to later relevant papers

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

FO 371 / 120880

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INWARD SAVING TELEGRAM

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FROM WASHINGTON TO FOREIGN OFFICE

Mr. J.E. Coulson.

No. 719 Saving
of October 29, 1956

D: 11.00 a.m. October 30, 1956

To whi.

R. Oct 31.

CONFIDENTIAL

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 719 Saving of
October 29,Repeated for information to: Peking (by telegraph) No. 122
And Saving to:Moscow No. 162
Warsaw No. 19

My immediately preceding Saving telegram:

CHINESE COMMUNIST ATTITUDE TOWARDS EVENTS IN
EASTERN EUROPEFollowing is substance (not verbatim text) of guidance sent
by the State Department to posts abroad.Begins:

Developments in Poland have given rise to a rash of speculation that the Chinese Communists are supporting the Polish effort to assert their independence of Soviet control. The main source of these reports appears to be a despatch from the New York Times correspondent in Warsaw, Sidney Gruson, on October 15, in which he said that in a discussion in Peking between Mao Tse-tung (later changed to read Chou En-lai) and the then First Secretary of the Polish Communist Party the Chinese had told Mr. Ochab that the Poles should go ahead in their efforts to obtain internal independence and develop their own Socialist system as the Yugoslavs had done. There is also a report from a Yugoslav source which quotes high Chinese Communist officials as supporting Tito's position and saying that the Russians would have to learn to treat Communist parties in other countries as sovereign equals.

/ These reports

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- 2 -

CONFIDENTIAL

These reports should be treated with great caution. They are third or fourth hand. They emanate from Polish or Yugoslav sources which have an obvious interest in giving the impression that they have Chinese support. Moreover, the Chinese Communist Party's repetition at their recent 8th. Congress of Khrushchev's references, at the Soviet Twentieth Party Congress, to separate roads to Socialism may have misled the Eastern European delegates present.

Even if the Chinese sympathise with the Poles they will be very cautious about making their sympathy known. The Chinese still rely heavily on the Soviet Union and are unlikely to oppose the Russians on matters affecting the Soviet Union's vital interests in Europe.

Information reaching the State Department suggests that certain foreign governments (unspecified) are giving credence to the reports referred to in paragraph 2 above and are citing them as evidence of weakening of the ties between the Soviet Union and China and of Chinese opposition to Soviet domination. This might lead to a softening of the free world's attitude towards the Chinese Communists. United States posts abroad are authorised to counter such reports on the lines set out above and to stress that recent events in Eastern Europe were caused by the failure of the Communist Parties there to solve the problems of the area.

Although China is not a Satellite of the Soviet Union, she adheres basically both internally and externally to the Communist line. Eventual developments in China favourable to the West may be hoped for but only if the unity of free world policy towards Communist Asia remains unified and firm. Any relaxation at present towards the Chinese Communists would be disastrous to the free world's interest in Asia because it would facilitate Communist penetration in free Asia rather than contribute to opposition in Communist areas to the domination of the Soviet Union.

Ends.

Foreign Office please pass to Peking by Telegraph as my telegram No. 122.

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1956

F
FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

F C1022/29

CHINA

FROM Peking

No. 647

Dated 2 November, 1956

Received in
Registry— 7/11

China and Eastern Europe.

Attachment of the Chinese
Communists' reactions to the recent
events in Eastern Europe.

(Reprinted Washington, Moscow, Warsaw.)

References to former relevant papers

-/27

FC10110/89

FC10338/21

(Print)

(How disposed of)

Op.) Mr. de la Houe

H. Con 12/11

Apud) Mr. O'Neill, Peking

Mr. Pandt, Moscow

Mr. Cady, Fodor, Warsaw

Mr. Gray, Budapest 14/11

MINUTES

There is a contradiction between
parts of the Chinese commentary on the
Soviet Government's statement of October 30 and
their more recent complete support for the
Soviet actions in Hungary. The statement
that "the demands of the people of
Hungary ... that democracy, independence and
equality be strengthened are completely proper"
reads strangely now; so too do the
remarks about the "mistake of chauvinism
by a big country."

The reason for this change in attitude
was Hungary's attempt to break away from
the Soviet bloc and its appeal to the
United Nations. Neither the Russians nor the
Chinese are prepared to accept any
such weakening of the "Socialist bloc".
Independent roads to socialism may be

(Action
completed)

(Index)

H. 15/11

H. 15/11

References to later relevant papers

743

47524

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acceptable but independent roads away
from Socialism are intolerable.

I submit a draft savings telegram
to Washington.

D. E. Symon

8/11

8/11

Northern Dept.

The only point of substance we would
add to this is the equation of the
'revolution' in Poland with events in
Yugoslavia in 1948/9 (para 2 of Mr.
O'Neill's telegram 648). This seems
to us to be of some importance, as it
suggests that if Gomulka plays his
cards carefully he will have powerful
support in the Socialist camp. I think
this might be worth adding to the
draft.

T. D. Bundy
8/11

I have redrafted. The Chinese
support for his Russians in Hungary
seems to ~~also~~ confirm all our views
that the Chinese cannot afford to see
any weakening of his Russian position
in Eastern Europe.

I doubt if the Chinese will give
Gomulka much support and against the
Russians. I think they will be too
anxious to preserve his "neutrality".

C. T. Clark
9/11

9.11.

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CONFIDENTIALFROM PEKING TO FOREIGN OFFICE

F C 1022/29

Cypher/OTP

FOREIGN OFFICE AND WHITEHALL
DISTRIBUTION

Mr. O'Neill

No. 647

November 2, 1956

D: 10.30 a.m. November 2, 1956

R: 6.02 p.m. November 2, 1956

CONFIDENTIALAddressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 647 of November 2.

Repeated for information Saving to: Washington

Moscow

Warsaw

Washington telegram No. 718 Saving. China and Eastern Europe.

I agree in general with the State Department's guidance reported in Washington telegram No. 719 Saving.

2. It seems to me quite likely that the Chinese Communists do, (or did), feel some sympathy with the desire of Polish and other East European Communist parties to achieve greater independence. See in this connexion my despatches Nos. 272 and 275 about speeches by Yugoslav and Soviet delegates at recent Party Congress. While I discount the Press reports referred to, it cannot be excluded that some Chinese leaders may have made remarks tending in this direction to foreign delegates at the Party Congress. I learn, for instance, that Mao Tse-tung used language at least capable of this interpretation to the Pakistan Prime Minister recently.

3. The Chinese Press has, moreover, reported recent events in Poland fully and with a good deal of support for Gomulka. I do not know whether in this respect it has gone beyond the line taken by the Russian Press. But any intelligent Chinese reader must, I think, by now have noticed that tendencies in Poland hostile to the Soviet Union are being reported here without censure or comment. Especially interesting in this connexion is the Chinese Government commentary reported in my immediately following telegram on the recent Soviet statement on relations between Socialist countries. In the present circumstances it strikes me as surprisingly outspoken.

/ 4. Nevertheless, I

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FO 371 / 120880

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CONFIDENTIALPeking telegram No. 647 to Foreign Office

- 2 -

4. Nevertheless, I am certain the last thing the Chinese desire is any real weakening of the Communist bloc in Europe. Their own [in]dependence on the Soviet Union is, and will remain for years so great that nothing likely to weaken Soviet power and prestige can be welcome to them. Moreover, they have considerable direct interest in trade and technical assistance from European satellite countries which they would not wish to jeopardize.

5. Finally, I hope these developments in Eastern Europe will not lead anyone to suppose that there is any prospect whatever of anything similar occurring in China. China already has quite sufficient independence from the Soviet Union and her main interest will be to go on enjoying Soviet support and assistance.

Foreign Office please pass to Washington, Moscow and Warsaw as my Saving telegrams Nos. 192, 48 and 11.

[Repeated Saving to Washington, Moscow and Warsaw]

G G G G

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CTC

Draft.

Mr. de la Mare,
Washington.

from:

Mr. Crowe

Copies to:-

Mr. O'Neill,
Peking.

Mr. Parrott,
Moscow.

Mr. Carey-Foster
Warsaw.

Mr. Fry,
Budapest.

Your telegrams Nos. 718 and 719 Saving of October 29 and Peking telegrams Nos. 647 and 648 of November 2 about the Chinese Communist attitude towards events in Eastern Europe.

2. Ed Martin of the U.S. Embassy raised this problem with me just before your Savingsgrams were received and I told him then that we were broadly in agreement with State Department ~~view~~. I am glad to see that O'Neill shares our views. In fact the recent Chinese condemnation of the uprising in Hungary and their complete support for the Soviet Union's action, coming immediately after their commentary on the Soviet declaration of October 30, bears out our belief that the Chinese cannot welcome any weakening of Soviet power or prestige. Once Hungarian events got out of control and there seemed to be a threat to the solidarity of the Soviet bloc they dropped any liberal sounding ideas and formed up close behind the Russians. Independent roads to socialism may be acceptable to the Chinese, but independent roads away from socialism are intolerable.

3. At the time the Chinese comments on the Russian statement of October 30 appeared it looked as though their equation of the "revolution" in Poland with events in Yugoslavia in 1948/49 might be important as suggesting that if Gomulka played his hand carefully he might have powerful support from China; but it seems more likely now after the events in Hungary that the Chinese will be extremely chary of doing or saying anything which might encourage Gomulka too much and possibly lead to a repetition of events in Hungary.

/4. ..

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4. I am copying this letter to O'Neill in Peking, Parrott in Moscow, Carey-Foster in Warsaw and Fry in Budapest.

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FOREIGN OFFICE, S.W.1.

November 12, 1956.

CONFIDENTIAL
FC1022/29*Sent
12/11**Dear Arthur,*

Your telegrams Nos. 718 and 719 Saving of October 29 and Peking telegrams Nos. 647 and 648 of November 2 about the Chinese Communist attitude towards events in Eastern Europe.

2. Ed Martin of the U.S. Embassy raised this problem with me just before your Savingsgrams were received and I told him then that we were broadly in agreement with State Department. I am glad to see that O'Neill shares our views. In fact the recent Chinese condemnation of the uprising in Hungary and their complete support for the Soviet Union's action, coming immediately after their commentary on the Soviet declaration of October 30, bears out our belief that the Chinese cannot welcome any weakening of Soviet power or prestige. Once Hungarian events got out of control and there seemed to be a threat to the solidarity of the Soviet bloc they dropped any liberal sounding ideas and formed up close behind the Russians. Independent roads to socialism may be acceptable to the Chinese, but independent roads away from socialism are intolerable.

3. At the time the Chinese comments on the Russian statement of October 30 appeared it looked as though their equation of the "revolution" in Poland with events in Yugoslavia in 1948/49 might be important as suggesting that if Gomulka played his hand carefully he might have powerful support from China; but it seems more likely now after the events in Hungary that the Chinese will be extremely chary of doing or saying anything which might encourage Gomulka too much and possibly lead to a repetition of events in Hungary.

4. I am copying this letter to O'Neill in Peking, Parnett in Moscow, Carey-Poster in Warsaw and Fry in Budapest.

Yours ever
C.T. Crowe
(C.T. Crowe)

A.J. de la Mare, Esq.,
Washington.

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1956

F
FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

CHINA

F C1022/30

FROM Peking

China and Eastern Europe.

Summary of Chinese Government
Statement of November 1.

No. 648

Dated 2 November, 1956

Received in
Registry—

7/11

(Repealed, Washington, Moscow, Warsaw,
'and Budapest.)

References to former relevant papers

-129

MINUTES

See -129.

des
13/11

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action
completed)

(Index)

N^v 15/11

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15/10/57

References to later relevant papers

FC 10 338/22

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FO 371 / 120880

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FROM PEKING TO FOREIGN OFFICE

En Clair

FOREIGN OFFICE AND

WHITEHALL DISTRIBUTION

Mr. O'Neill

No. 648

November 2, 1956

D. 11.15 a.m. November 2, 1956

R. 6.36 p.m. November 2, 1956

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 648 of November 2
Repeated for information Saving to Washington Warsaw
Moscow Budapest

My immediately preceding telegram (not to all) following is summary of Chinese Government statement dated November 1.

2. The Chinese Government consider that the Soviet Government declaration of October 30 is correct. The relations of all countries and especially Socialist countries should be based on the five principles. As the Soviet declaration points out there have been errors in the sphere of the relations between Socialist countries creating barriers and misunderstandings, and preventing certain Socialist countries from building Socialism more in accordance with their historical circumstances and special features. These barriers and misunderstandings have at times created tense situations which should not occur. The treatment of Yugoslavia in 1948-49 and the recent affair in Poland both prove this point.

3. The Chinese Government notes that the Polish and Hungarian peoples have demanded the strengthening of democracy, independence and equality, and the raising of their material welfare. These demands are completely proper and their satisfaction will benefit the unity of the Socialist countries. We are glad to see that the Polish people and their leaders have noted the danger of the activities of reactionary elements. We consider it necessary to distinguish between the proper demands of the broad masses and the plots of a tiny minority of reactionaries. The question of unity with the masses and struggle against the tiny minority of reactionaries concerns not only isolated Socialist countries but several socialist countries including China.

4. Certain personnel in the Socialist countries frequently neglect the equality between all countries. In essence such errors are bourgeois chauvinist errors. Such errors, particularly that of great power chauvinism, will necessarily cause serious damage to the unity and common cause of the Socialist countries. Therefore the leaders and people of China must constantly guard against the error of great power chauvinism in relations with Socialist and other countries.

Foreign Office please pass Saving to Washington, Moscow, Warsaw and Budapest as my telegrams Nos. 193, 49, 12 and 6.

[Repeated Saving to Washington, Moscow, Warsaw and Budapest]

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

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1022/32

1956

CHINA

FROM

R.C.H.A.

No.

Dated 8 November, 1956

Received in
Registry—

13/11

China's statement in support
of Egypt.

References to former relevant papers

MINUTES

After such a strongly worded harangue the threats are slightly banal: "The Chinese Government and people... are willing to adopt all effective measures within our ability, including the supply of material aid...."

Since China lacks the shipping to transport material aid to Egypt, any supplies would have to be sent by air via the Soviet Union.

The real danger lies in the measures which the Chinese may take to settle some of their own grievances in the Far East ostensibly in support of the anti-colonialist Afro-Asian powers.

W. E. Symon

48719

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11/29/11

(Index)

15/10/57

References to later relevant papers

1022

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

F

1022/32

1956

CHINA

FROM

R.C.H.A.

No.

Dated 8 November, 1956

Received in
Registry—

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W. E. Symon

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W 29/11

(Index)

W 15/10/57

References to later relevant papers

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clipping if they wanted to - and the despatch of even token
supplies might have a strong psychological effect on
Egypt and the other A/A countries. The main danger spot
is, however, HongKong.

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African Det.

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NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY

Thursday, November 8, 1956

CEASEFIRE, VICTORY OF PEOPLE - BRITISH PAPERS

LONDON November 7 - The Daily Worker today described the British Government's agreement to a ceasefire in Egypt as a great political and moral victory of the people. "But peace in the Middle East is far from secure", it warned.

The paper urged the people not to "relax until the last British soldier is out and the last reservist is home again, and home before Christmas too".

The Daily Mirror commented that the ceasefire "was a last minute victory for the forces of decency". But it added, "this country will never forget that, in this day and age, Eden started a war in defiance of the United Nations, in defiance of treaty obligations and without any moral sanction".

The Daily Herald describing the situation said, "a squalid episode ends in a pitiable climbdown". But that cannot be the end, said the Daily Herald. The British people dare not ignore the cost of Eden's folly, nor dare the British people ignore the future. If the end of Eden's reckless adventure is the beginning of hope for peace, the destinies of Britain must pass, and quickly, into the hands of another abler and more faithful leader, said the paper.

The Manchester Guardian, while welcoming the ceasefire, regretted that Eden did not unconditionally accept the United Nations resolutions - and do it sooner.

The Times which had supported the war of aggression, said that the British and French Governments would now have many searching questions to face and many unpalatable decisions to take.

- - - - -

CHINESE GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON SUPPORT TO EGYPT

Enter

PEKING November 8 - China's support to Egypt was announced in a statement issued by the Government of the Chinese People's Republic yesterday.

The statement reads: In defiance of the serious warnings and strong protests of the overwhelming majority of countries of the world, Britain, France and Israel are persisting in their aggression against Egypt and attempting to compel the Egyptian people to accept the present state of aggression which they have created. The Egyptian people have suffered heavy losses in life and serious destruction of property. The flames of war are spreading to ever wider areas. In the face of such a critical situation, the Egyptian Government has appealed to the whole world for help, and the Government of the Soviet Union has proposed to adopt urgent measures to stop British and French aggression. The Chinese Government warmly responds to Egypt's appeal and firmly supports the proposition of the Soviet Union. The Chinese Government strongly demands that Britain, France and Israel withdraw their aggressive forces from Egyptian soil so that a genuine ceasefire desired by the whole world may be brought about.

On November 5, the Soviet Government proposed in the United Nations Security Council to adopt urgent measures to stop British and French aggression. At the same time, Chairman N.A. Bulganin of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union wrote to President Eisenhower of the United States proposing United States and Soviet co-operation in using force to stop the aggression against Egypt. This important step of the Soviet Government, which can well solve the crisis, has met with a warm welcome and support of all countries, especially the countries of Asia and Africa.

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CHINESE GOVERNMENT STATEMENT ON SUPPORT TO EGYPT (continued)

The United States Government, however, rejected the Soviet proposal, thus enabling Britain and France to thrust their spearhead of aggression into the Suez Canal zone which they have long coveted.

The people of the world can see that the United States is only paying lip service to opposing British and French aggression against Egypt, and is actually conniving at British and French aggression.

The United States has no intention of stopping British and French aggression, yet it shows a great interest in the Canadian proposal of organising a so-called emergency international force. This is by no means accidental. For a long time the United States has, together with Britain and France, advocated international control over the Suez Canal. The purpose of the United States in supporting the Canadian proposal is obviously to take over with the so-called emergency international force the areas in Egypt which have been occupied by Britain, France and Israel unlawfully, so as to realise the vile scheme of depriving Egypt of its sacred sovereignty over the Suez Canal. Such practice fully proves that the United States is not only conniving at British and French aggression against Egypt but is taking advantage of the British and French aggression to seek its own control over Egypt.

The Chinese Government and people cannot stand idly by while Egypt's sovereignty and territory is subjected to any form of encroachment. The Chinese Government firmly demands that Britain, France and Israel immediately withdraw all their armed forces which have invaded Egypt and stop their aggressive war against Egypt. The Egyptian people who are fighting indomitably in defence of their own sovereignty and territorial integrity are by no means alone. The Chinese Government and people, in response to the appeal of the Egyptian Government, are willing to adopt all effective measures within our ability, including the supply of material aid, to support Egypt's struggle and oppose the British and French aggression. We are convinced that no matter how barbarious and sly the imperialist aggressors are, the Egyptian people fighting to the end will certainly win victory.

SOVIET AMBASSADOR'S RECEPTION

PEKING November 7 - The Chinese people will always cherish their unbreakable friendship with the Soviet Union, said Premier Chou En-lai at a reception given here tonight by Soviet Ambassador P.F. Yudin. It was to celebrate the 39th anniversary of the October socialist revolution.

Addressing the 800 guests, who included Chu Teh and Liu Shao-chi, the Premier said: "The Chinese people are deeply aware, because of their own experiences, that the great and eternal friendship between China and the Soviet Union fully conforms with the fundamental interests of our two peoples and of all mankind".

The consolidation and development of this friendship, Premier Chou continued, "will greatly augment the forces of peace, democracy and socialism and contribute greatly to the cause of upholding peace and human progress".

Premier Chou praised the Soviet Union's efforts in the past year in strengthening its unity with the other socialist countries. He supported the declaration of the Soviet Government concerning the relationships between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. He said it was a step which "will further strengthen the solidarity and friendly relations among socialist countries, and thus promote a common economic upsurge in these countries.

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1		2		Ref:		FO 371 / 120880		THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

F C1022/33

1956

CHINA

FROM

H.L.H.A.

Chinese Government issues statement on Soviet declaration.

No.

Dated 1 November, 1956

Received in Registry

13/11

References to former relevant papers

N 1021/8

MINUTES

Events in Hungary caught the Chinese Government on the wrong foot and they had to make a rather clumsy jump to get back into step with the Russians.

(Print)

W. E. Symon
14/11

(How disposed of)

Northern Dept. J.P.W. 16/10.
I.R.D. Jan. 8/11.

RM
28/11

(Action completed)

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References to later relevant papers

49724

1	2	THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	1	2
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NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.

Friday, November 2, 1956.

CHINESE GOVERNMENT ISSUES STATEMENT ON SOVIET DECLARATION.

PEKING. November 1 - The Government of the People's Republic of China today issued the following statement on the declaration issued by the Government of the Soviet Union on October 30, 1956:

The Government of the Soviet Union on October 30, 1956 issued a declaration on the foundations of the development and further strengthening of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Government of the People's Republic of China considers this declaration of the Government of the Soviet Union to be correct. This declaration is of great importance in correcting errors in mutual relations between the socialist countries and in strengthening unity among them.

The People's Republic of China maintains that the 5 principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-intervention in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence should be the principles governing the establishment and development of mutual relations among the nations of the world. The socialist countries are all independent, sovereign states. At the same time they are united by the common ideal of socialism and the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Consequently, mutual relations between socialist countries all the more so should be established on the basis of these 5 principles. Only in this way are the socialist countries able to achieve genuine fraternal friendship and solidarity and, through mutual assistance and co-operation, their desire for a mutual economic upsurge.

As the declaration of the Soviet Government pointed out, the mutual relations between the socialist countries are not without mistakes. These mistakes resulted in misunderstandings and estrangement between certain socialist countries. Some of these countries have been unable to build socialism better in accordance with their historical circumstances and special features because of these mistakes. As a result of these misunderstandings and estrangement, a tense situation has sometimes occurred which otherwise would not have occurred. The handling of the 1948-1949 Yugoslav situation and the recent happenings in Poland and Hungary are enough to illustrate this. Following the Soviet-Yugoslav joint declaration issued in June 1955, the Soviet Government has again taken note of this problem and in its declaration of October 30, 1956, indicated its willingness to solve various problems in mutual relations on the basis of the principles of full equality, respect for territorial integrity, national independence and sovereignty, and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs and by friendly negotiations with other socialist countries. This important step is clearly of value in eliminating estrangement and misunderstandings among the socialist countries. It will help increase their friendship and co-operation.

The Government of the People's Republic of China notes that the people of Poland and Hungary in the recent happenings have raised demands that democracy, independence, and equality be strengthened and the material wellbeing of the people be raised on the basis of developing production. These demands are completely proper. Correct satisfaction of these demands is not only helpful to consolidation of the people's democratic system in these countries but also favourable to the unity among the socialist countries. We note with satisfaction that the people of Poland and their leaders have taken

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CHINESE GOVERNMENT ISSUES STATEMENT ON SOVIET DECLARATION. (continued)

notice of the activities and danger of reactionary elements who attempt to undermine the people's democratic system and unity among socialist countries. We consider it absolutely necessary to take note of this and to differentiate between the just demands of the broadest mass of the people and the conspiratorial activities of an extremely small number of reactionary elements. The question of uniting the broadest mass of the people in the struggle against an extremely small number of reactionary elements is not only a question for an individual socialist country, but one deserving attention by many socialist countries, including our country.

Because of the unanimity of ideology and aim of struggle, it often happens that certain personnel of socialist countries neglect the principle of equality among nations in their mutual relations. Such mistake by nature, is the error of bourgeois chauvinism. Such a mistake, particularly the mistake of chauvinism by a big country, inevitably results in serious damage to the solidarity and common cause of the socialist countries. For this reason, leading members of and personnel of our government and the people of the entire country, must at all times be vigilant to prevent the error of big nation chauvinism in relations with socialist countries and others. We should at all times carry out education resolutely to oppose big nation chauvinism among our personnel and the people of the entire country. If such an error is committed it should be corrected promptly. This is the duty to which we should pay the utmost attention in order to strive for peaceful co-existence with all nations and to promote the cause of world peace.

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PAKISTAN STUDENTS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST ANGLO-FRENCH AGGRESSION.

KARACHI. November 1 - Students in Lahore and Dacca today demonstrated against Britain and France for their aggression against Egypt.

A student procession this morning broke through a police cordon obstructing their progress towards the British High Commission in Lahore to protest against the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt.

The police resorted to a lathi charge and the students hurled stones at the police. More than 10 students received minor injuries.

This procession was joined on the way by some other smaller processions, swelling the crowd to well over 10,000.

They pulled out a wooden board bearing the name of the British Deputy High Commissioner/burned it. They shouted, "Suez belongs to Egypt", "Down with Britain and France".

Earlier, the students held a meeting and passed a resolution condemning the Anglo-French aggression.

Hundreds of students from Dacca University today marched in a procession to demonstrate against the aggression on Egypt before the office of the United Kingdom High Commission in Dacca.

3 students from the procession presented a memorandum to the Deputy High Commissioner. The memorandum condemned the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt.

Earlier, the students held a meeting in the university and decided to call a general strike on November 3.

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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FO 371 / 120880	
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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

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C1022/34

1956

CHINA

FROM

H.C.H.A.

No.

Dated

2 November, 1956

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Registry

13/11

References to former relevant papers

MINUTES

This account contains one or two
details which were not reported by Mr. O'Neill.

C. E. Symon

K.H.M. 14/11

14/11

(Print)

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(Action
completed)H.V.
10/11

(Index)

H.V.
15/10/57

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FO 371 / 120880

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES

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Ins

2

-17-

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCYMonday, November 5, 1956INDONESIAN WORKERS START BOYCOTT AGAINST BRITISH AND FRENCH

DJAKARTA November 1 - The Central Committee of the Indonesian Harbour Workers Trade Union today instructed its members throughout the country to boycott against British and French shipping enterprises in Indonesia, Antara reported today.

This action is taken by Indonesian workers as an expression of support for Egypt.

It is reported that the same boycott action has been taken by the largest Indonesian Oil Workers Trade Union. These workers refused to fuel British and French ships.

Indonesian airway workers are preparing to take similar action, according to another report.

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NEHRU URGES STRONG UNITED NATIONS ACTION TO STOP ANGLO-FRENCH AGGRESSION

NEW DELHI November 1 - Premier Nehru today sent a message to the Secretary General of the United Nations on the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt. Its full text follows:

We have been profoundly shocked by the recent developments in the Middle East and more particularly by the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt after their rejection of the Security Council resolution moved by the United States. It is clear and admitted that Israel has committed a large-scale aggression against Egypt. Instead of trying to stop this aggression, the United Kingdom and France are themselves invading Egyptian territory. This is not only an affront to the Security Council and a violation of the United Nations Charter but also likely to lead to the gravest possible consequences all over the world.

Egypt, which has suffered from Israel aggression, has in addition to suffer grievously by the Anglo-French invasion of her territory. The argument that this invasion is meant to protect the canal and to ensure free traffic has no force as the first result of this invasion is for this traffic to cease.

In view of the disastrous consequences of this invasion of Egyptian territory, I earnestly trust that the United Nations will take strong steps in this matter to prevent the world from plunging into war and demand an immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops from Egypt. The procedures of the United Nations must be swifter than those of invasion and aggression.

In sending you this message, I am not only reflecting the unanimous views of my government and people but also I am sure of a large number of other peoples.

Euler

- - - - -

C1022/34

PEKING CITIZENS DEMONSTRATE IN SUPPORT OF EGYPT

PEKING November 2 - Peking people in their tens of thousands demonstrated their anger at the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt outside the office of the British Charge d'Affaires and their support for Egypt in greetings and messages to the Egyptian Embassy.

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1	2	Ref:	THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
cms			FO 371 / 120880
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PEKING CITIZENS DEMONSTRATE IN SUPPORT OF EGYPT (continued)

Shouting slogans and carrying banners, streams of demonstrators - made up of workers, students and office employees - have been parading through the streets since this morning.

At the Egyptian Embassy, groups of people delivered messages, resolutions, statements and letters all through the morning and afternoon expressing solidarity with the Egyptian people.

About 10,000 of the city's big moslem community wearing white caps marched in formation to the embassy and their representatives left messages offering "fullest support to their Egyptian brothers and sisters".

Members of the Chinese cultural delegation that visited Egypt earlier this year were among the many groups bringing greetings and good wishes for Egypt's victory over the aggressors.

Receiving representatives of the demonstrators, Egyptian Ambassador Hassan Ragab said: "I am very grateful for this support for Egypt's cause. We are fighting for our country's independence and freedom from colonialism and imperialism.

"I am deeply touched by the many signs of warm friendship with Egypt shown by the Chinese people. I believe Egypt will win its just cause".

He said that his country's struggle was supported by all Arab peoples and promised "to transmit all these expressions of support to the Egyptian people".

At the British compound, the gates were closed immediately the first few demonstrators appeared. After about a quarter of an hour a small door in the gate was opened cautiously and a member of the staff appeared in the aperture. He tried to push back the representatives who came forward to deliver messages of protest and then shut and locked the door.

Eventually two representatives of the first groups of demonstrators were allowed through the door, bearing protests from trade unions, student bodies, branches of the democratic parties and other organisations. They handed the messages to British Charge d'Affaires O'Neill who promised to relay the protest to the British Government. A request for reporters to interview O'Neill was refused at the gate, a British official saying "diplomats do not receive reporters in such situations".

The big wooden gates of the British compound and the walls flanking them were covered with posters, placards and slogans in many colours with words: "British and French Armed Aggressors, Get Out of Egypt", "Hands Off Egypt", "The Suez Question Peacefully", "Down With the Aggressors", and "Long Live the Independence and Freedom of Egypt".

The protesters stood on their comrades shoulders to paste posters on both sides of the British coat of arms and using Chinese writing brushes painted cartoons and caricatures on the neighbouring walls as demonstrators shouted "Open the gates. Ask your Charge d'Affaires to show up and reply to the protests!"

Chiu Hsin, the representative of the Peking No.26 middle school, shouted a strong verbal protest against the rude attitude of the British officials in refusing to receive the representatives of the demonstrators.

After visiting the offices of the British Charge d'Affaires, groups of people rejoined the demonstrators marching through the streets.

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

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C1022/35-

1956

CHINA

FROM

H.C.A.A.

No.

Dated 5 November, 1956

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References to former relevant papers

N1021/8

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(Print)

(How disposed of)

MINUTES

This is a more carefully considered statement than the Chinese commentary of November 1 on the Soviet Government's statement of October 30 about their relations with the satellites. I suspect that the Russians may have protested about the earlier statement.

W. E. Symon

14/11

Nathan left. ^{J.F.W.} 16/10 the expression "headed by", in the second paragraph, is a subtle change from "under the leadership of". The expression generally used in connection with the Soviet Union.

R. H. Jones 14/11

The Chinese look to live in the end.

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25/11(Action
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References to later relevant papers

1 2
cms Ref: FO 371 / 120880
THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES
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C1022/35

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.

Monday, November 5, 1956

"PEOPLE'S DAILY" EDITORIAL ON UNITY OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

PEKING, November 3 - An editorial entitled "Long live the great unity of the socialist countries!" appears in today's People's Daily; the full text follows:

N1021/8

In the present international situation, the declaration issued by the Soviet Government on October 30 on the development and further strengthening of the foundations of friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is a highly significant document. It contributes powerfully towards consolidating still further the solidarity of the socialist countries, bringing about a common economic upsurge in the socialist countries, and strengthening the struggle of the peoples of the socialist countries against the aggressive forces of imperialism. The government of the Chinese People's Republic published a statement on November 1 in support of the Soviet declaration. The press of the Peoples' Democracies in Europe such as Poland, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Rumania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia have unanimously praised it. /33

The unity of the socialist countries headed by the great Soviet Union is the most important support of the causes of world peace and human progress. Thanks to their common ideological foundations and the identity of their aims in struggle, the socialist countries have established fraternal relations of mutual assistance and co-operation unparalleled in the history of mankind. It is exactly this fraternal unity, mutual assistance and co-operation among the socialist countries that has enabled some countries which had been economically backward, exploited and oppressed by imperialism to free themselves from the imperialist yoke and develop quickly. In this respect the many-sided, immense help given by the Soviet Union to various other fraternal countries and to the people of various countries has played a most prominent role. The unity of internationalism among the socialist countries, their common economic upsurge and their firm stand in preserving world peace and opposing imperialist aggression have placed great difficulties in the way of the new war plans of the imperialists and filled the working people and progressive forces of the whole world with confidence in the future. Consequently, it is the highest duty of these countries to do everything possible to consolidate and strengthen the unity of the socialist countries in the interests of their own peoples and in the interests of all mankind.

The socialist cause is new in man's history. A new cause cannot be immune from errors of one kind or another owing to lack of experience. There is no exception to this, too, as regards the mutual relations between the socialist countries; there is nothing strange in this. But the socialist countries are entirely different from the capitalist. In the first place, although the socialist countries have made errors in their mutual relations, their achievements are very much greater and these have helped them gain rapid social and economic progress and create the possibilities of greater social and economic progress in the future. Secondly, all the errors made in the mutual relations between the socialist countries can be corrected and eliminated. In fact, past errors have either already been corrected or are in process of correction. Therefore, this kind of thing can never be a pretext for breaking the unity of the socialist countries and friendship with the Soviet Union. The October 30 declaration of the Soviet Government shows unreserved loyalty by the Soviet Union to the common interests of the great unity of the socialist countries, to the Marxist-Leninist principle of equality of nationalities and the principle of proletarian internationalism. This correct attitude of the Soviet Government, placing the interests

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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cms	Ref.
FO 371 / 120880	
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"PEOPLE'S DAILY" EDITORIAL ON UNITY OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. (cont'd)

of unity among the socialist countries above everything else, should be the attitude of all socialist countries when considering the matter of their mutual relations.

Serving as instruments for strengthening the unity of the socialist countries there are not only the socialist economic and political systems of the socialist countries, their principle of working class internationalism and the Marxist-Leninist principles of their working class parties; there are also the various treaties and agreements between these countries. The treaty of friendly co-operation and mutual assistance concluded in Warsaw on May 14, 1955, by Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia (the delegate of the Government of the People's Republic of China participated in the Warsaw Conference in the capacity of observer and declared full support and co-operation) has played a particularly important role in consolidating the camp of socialism. This treaty guarantees to the people of the European countries in the socialist camp that they can safely build a happy life for themselves without becoming isolated and helpless in the face of the aggressive forces of Western imperialism. It guarantees that the countries in the camp of socialism will not be picked off one by one by the forces of Western imperialism and international counter-revolution which are always hostile to socialism, scheming to overthrow the socialist countries and trying to reinstate capitalist and fascist counter-revolutionary regimes there. While the North Atlantic Pact whereby the Western imperialists prepare for aggressive war continues to exist, the Warsaw Treaty must continue. For the Warsaw Treaty not only safeguards the security of the various socialist countries in Europe but is also the most powerful guarantee of world peace as a whole.

To prepare a new war, and stage a comeback for capitalism and fascism in the various Eastern European countries, the imperialist forces, together with the few counter-revolutionaries inside and outside the various Eastern European countries, are using every kind of pretext and lie in their desperate provocations against the Soviet Union. They know that only by pulling the other socialist countries away from the most powerful centre of the socialist camp, the Soviet Union, can these be destroyed. They are working hard to mislead the mass of the people in certain countries and are applying pressure to make the peoples in the Eastern European countries forget the profound friendship shown by the Soviet people who shed their blood liberally in wiping out the Hitler occupation during the second world war, freed the peoples of Eastern Europe and then gave them huge economic aid. They are applying pressure to make the peoples of Eastern Europe forget all the great benefits they have derived from socialism and all the terrible calamities created by capitalism and fascism. They are unscrupulously slandering the Soviet Union, slandering the communist parties of the various countries, slandering the principles of socialism, the principles of Marxism-Leninism, in order to realise their most despicable and monstrous reactionary plots. They are attempting to destroy the fraternal friendship between the various socialist countries, to destroy the Warsaw Treaty which safeguards their common security. This counter-revolutionary scheme of the imperialist aggressors, co-ordinated with their sanguinary attack on the Egyptian people, is now a serious threat to peace and to the working people throughout the world. At this critical moment, every man and woman, every youth, who desires peace and freedom, must show the greatest vigilance! To frustrate the sinister scheming of the enemy, close unity around the communist parties is essential. Smash this sinister scheming by holding steadfastly to the cause of socialism, to the principle of socialism among all the socialist countries!

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cms		Ref.:		FO 371 / 120880		THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.

Monday, November 5, 1956

"PEOPLE'S DAILY" EDITORIAL ON UNITY OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. (cont'd)

The Chinese people are profoundly sympathetic to the Hungarian people in their plight under the recent events. Their hearts go out to the honest working people, the genuine patriots and the staunch socialist fighters of Hungary. Without doubt, mistakes committed by certain Hungarian leaders in their work have brought much misfortune to the Hungarian people. But Hungary can attain independence, freedom and happiness only as a socialist country. To depart from socialism is to depart from a bright future, to bring grave disaster to the Hungarian nation. It is very painful for us to see a handful of counter-revolutionary conspirators capitalising on the situation in an attempt to restore capitalism and fascist terror in Hungary, to use Hungary to break the unity of the socialist countries and sabotage the Warsaw Treaty. All peace-loving people throughout the world feel disturbed at this situation and only vicious reactionaries rejoice. But the people, after all, cannot be hoodwinked. The working masses of Hungary are learning from the tortuous and dangerous changes. Full of hope and confidence our eyes turn to Budapest and the whole of Hungary; we hope that all the farsighted, patriotic, progressive forces of Hungary will resolutely unite and correctly lead the popular struggle to preserve all the socialist achievements attained by the working people of Hungary after arduous effort, to maintain the constitution of the People's Republic solemnly adopted by the Hungarian people in 1949 and to sustain the brotherly friendship between the people of Hungary and the peoples of the socialist countries.

The Chinese people have great regard for the people of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe who are building a new life for themselves, for the youth of these countries who are preparing to build a new life for themselves. The people of China hope that their comradely influence can help the cause of socialism in Hungary in its present serious condition, and by positive action they can safeguard the great international solidarity of the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union at the centre.

Recalling their own numerous, painful experience of the last one hundred years, the people of China fully recognise the treacherous methods of the imperialists and their lackeys and know that whatever sweet words the imperialists and their lackeys may use, including all their various lipservice to liberalism, their ultimate purpose is solely to suck the working people dry. Therefore the people of China are never under any illusion about the imperialists and their lackeys. On the other hand, they have found genuine, great and brotherly friendship in the people of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. That is why the people of China stand firmly inside the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. The friendship between the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union is forever unshakable, for it affects the most fundamental interests of the 800 million people of the two countries. If these interests were jeopardised, this would in turn undoubtedly jeopardise others. The Chinese people firmly believe there is only one bright path leading the people of the socialist countries to peace, security, independence, freedom and happiness and this is to consolidate and strengthen the solidarity of the socialist countries. Let us proclaim: Long live the great solidarity of the socialist countries!

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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cms	Ref.
FO 371 / 120880	
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-28-

MASS PARADE AGAINST ANGLO-FRENCH AGGRESSION.

PEKING, November 3 - Demonstrators marched from Tien An Men Square this afternoon in several huge columns to the British Charge d'Affaires office, the Egyptian Embassy and other parts of Peking after the mass rally of 400,000 people against Anglo-French aggression.

15 to 20 abreast, they passed the British Charge d'Affaires office waving flags and showing posters with the words "Death to the Anglo-French Aggressors", "Settle the Suez issue peacefully" and "Get out of Egypt".

The demonstrators shouted "We do not tolerate aggression" and "We stand four-square with Egypt", as their representatives handed in hundreds of letters of protest at the gates of the British compound. They waited till they were promised that these letters would be forwarded to the British Government.

The wall around the compound was covered with thousands of posters of all colours plastered up during yesterday and today. Clambering on one another's shoulders, paraders added fresh slogans on the gates and walls and hung streamers on the nearby trees. Prominent on the compound doors were several posters with the Egyptian crescent and stars bearing the words "Victory to the Egyptian people".

Huge coloured posters and woodcut prints picturing the Egyptian people valiantly defending their homeland against a background of the pyramids appeared on the British compound walls and in many other parts of the city, the work of art students who had stayed up through the night preparing them.

Marching at the head of the columns all the way to the Egyptian Embassy were Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee, Burhan Shahidi, Chairman of the China Islamic Association, and Chang Po-chun, Vice-Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

At the Embassy, Kuo Mo-jo simply and expressively pledged the wholehearted support of the Chinese people for the Egyptians fighting for the freedom of their motherland.

Burhan Shahidi exchanged greetings with the Ambassador in Arabic and embraced the Egyptian Cultural Attache Abdul Salam Badran who had arrived in Peking from Egypt today.

Thanking the greeters, Ambassador Hassan Ragab said that Egypt was fighting for a just cause and that the spirit of the Egyptian people could not be destroyed.

The Egyptian Ambassador, Mrs. Ragab and other members of the embassy appeared on the balcony of the embassy premises and greeted the demonstrators.

The names of Peking's major industrial plants, commercial undertakings and cultural institutions were heard as their representatives left the ranks of the marchers and handed the Egyptian Ambassador messages of solidarity with the Egyptian people.

Aly El Fiky, Egyptian professors at the Institute of Islamic Theology in Peking, called out in Chinese "Down with the Anglo-French aggressors" and "Long live China and Egypt" to enthusiastic cheering.

A group of schoolchildren marched past the embassy, Ambassador Ragab called out to them "Greetings in the name of Egyptian children".

The Cultural Attache told the concourse of people at the embassy, "I bring best regards from the Egyptian people for the Chinese people."
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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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FO 371 / 120880	
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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

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1956

CHINA

FROM H.C.H.A.

"People's Daily" on Hungarian situation.

No.

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- 30 -

"PEOPLE'S DAILY" ON HUNGARIAN SITUATION

PEKING November 4 - The People's Daily today carries an editorial entitled "Patriotic Hungarians, strive to defend socialism and smash the counter-revolutionary restoration!" The text follows.

Hungary is now in great chaos and danger. The Nagy Government, which is not even in a position to protect the safety of its Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in the sphere of domestic and foreign policy has not stopped its betrayal of the cause of socialism in Hungary and the national interests of the country.

Imre Nagy organised the government in his capacity as a communist. He stated his wish to be faithful to the cause of socialism in Hungary when he began his leadership of the government. In the light of the present situation, however, that was nothing but a fraud. Now the counter-revolutionaries in Hungary, taking advantage of the chaos under the Nagy Government, have resumed their activities and set up parties, groups and other organisations under various themes to carry out frantic attack on the revolutionary forces. In many places counter-revolutionary terrorists raided the offices of the Communist Party and killed its members. Ferenc Nagy, a counter-revolutionary ringleader who has fled abroad, and many other reactionary politicians in exile have rushed to Vienna or returned direct to Budapest to engage in conspiratory activities. One group after another, former Hungarian fascists, with arms in hand, have crossed the Austrian-Hungarian borders and entered Hungary. At the same time, the American Government, which has all along openly advocated the overthrow of the socialist countries in Eastern Europe, has "paid tribute" to Hungary which is in terror. It has also proposed to give 20 million dollars worth of material aid to the Nagy Government.

Patriotic Hungarians now can see clearly that the counter-revolutionary terrorists, though they are raising the banner of patriotism, independence and freedom, by no means represent the national interests of their country. They are the traitors to the Hungarian nation and to the great Hungarian patriots Lajos Kossuth and Sandor Petoeffi. These counter-revolutionaries are in fact the direct heirs of Horthy who ruled Hungary with fascist terror from 1919 to 1944. During the period when Horthy was put in power after the overthrow of the Hungarian Socialist Republic in 1919 by the imperialist forces, tens of thousands of Hungarian workers were murdered, 70,000 people were arrested and jailed and the Communist Party was forced to go underground.

Horthy's reactionary rule not only impoverished the people and exhausted the material wealth of the country, but as a result of its participation in Hitler's anti-Soviet war, almost the total collapse of the Hungarian army occurred and the whole country was occupied by the Hitlerite forces in 1944. It was only because of the heroic advance of the Soviet troops and the active co-operation of the Hungarian communists, other patriotic forces and the broad mass of the people with the Soviet troops that the Hungarian nation regained its independence and freedom. Can the patriotic Hungarian people forget this painful lesson, still fresh in their memory? Is it possible to regard as patriots the remnants of the Horthy clique who had brought disaster to the country and people? Is it possible to expect the counter-revolutionary terrorists who are as anti-communist and anti-Soviet, as ready to slaughter the Hungarian workers to overthrow the socialist system in Hungary, and to lead Hungary to destruction as was Horthy, to defend the independence and freedom of Hungary? All patriots who can judge the situation correctly recognise without difficulty that it is only a socialist Hungary that can defend its independence and freedom, achieve its national interests and put Hungary on the path to a prosperous, powerful and happy country. But a counter-revolutionary Hungary will become a tool of the Western imperialists for preparing new aggressive wars, and would repeat the same disastrous consequences as did the Horthy regime.

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THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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cms	Ref.
FO 371 / 120880	
1	1
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-29-

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.

Monday, November 5, 1956

MASS PARADE AGAINST ANGLO-FRENCH AGGRESSION. (continued)

I have left my family and relations there and I am glad to find relations and friends here.

"I assure you all that with this great spirit we shall win in the end and peace will prevail in the world".

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"PEOPLE'S DAILY" ON WORLD DISGUST OVER AGGRESSION AGAINST EGYPT.

PEKING, November 3 - The mass demonstrations in China against the Anglo-French aggression in Egypt showed the determination of China's 600 million people to defend world peace and international justice, the People's Daily declared today.

The paper's editorial said that peace lovers throughout the world protested at and condemned this aggression. The resolution for an immediate ceasefire adopted by the United Nations Assembly on November 1 reflected their cry and demand to end aggression, the paper added.

Aggression should be nipped in the bud. Otherwise the imperialists would start aggression at any place they wished and the flames of war could spread to other areas in the world, the editorial said.

"The Egyptian people are fighting to defend their independence and freedom as well as international justice and world peace. The support given the Egyptian people's sacred struggle by the Chinese people and others throughout the world is part of the struggle to safeguard their own independence, freedom, peace and security".

The editorial went on to say that "The anger and protests of people in all countries are a serious warning to the British and French aggressors". Britain and France thought they could easily defeat Egypt by military force, but the Egyptian people declared that they would rather die than fail. President Nasser had announced that Egypt would fight a total war against the aggressors.

"The Egyptian people have awakened and are confident of their own strength. Such people cannot be conquered", the editorial stated.

The paper pointed out that "The people of the Asian and African countries regard the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt as a frenzied provocation against them and will not ignore it".

Noting the call of the International Federation of Arab Workers to workers in the Arab states if necessary to destroy Western oil installations and all foreign bases, the paper said that this was the first signal and the first warning.

"Now is the times for all who love peace in the world to take action to check aggression", the editorial said. It pointed out that the people by their own strength had sent aggressors such as Hitler and Tojo to their graves. If the British and French aggressors did not stop their aggression, they would meet the same end in the face of resistance of the Egyptian people who were supported by people throughout the world, the paper concluded.

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SHANGHAI, November 4 - THE PRESENT AGGRESSIVE WAR AGAINST EGYPT "is absolutely intolerable in present day international life", said the visiting Japanese youth and women delegation here today.

These words were contained in a statement read by Tamotsu Ila, leader of the delegation to more than 1,000 young men at a meeting held to welcome the delegation.

The statement also expressed the hope that this problem could be peacefully settled at an early date and that Egypt's struggle would end in triumph.

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NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY

Monday, November 5, 1956

"PEOPLE'S DAILY" ON HUNGARIAN SITUATION (continued)

A foundation of socialism has been laid by the Hungarian people in the past 11 years. The Hungarian working class has eliminated the capitalist system of exploitation and become the leading class in the state. The Hungarian peasantry has taken land from the landlords and embarked on the road of collective agriculture. The fruits gained by the Hungarian labouring people are recorded in the 1949 constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic. The constitution provides that the Hungarian People's Republic is to safeguard the political power and freedom of Hungarian labouring people, uphold the independence of the country, struggle against all forms of exploitation and organise the social forces to carry out socialist construction. The labouring people of Hungary will never let the fruits of their struggle to be seized easily by the counter-revolutionary adventurers who had been defeated and driven out. Therefore, the urgent task confronting the Hungarian working people and all true patriots at this moment is immediately to mobilise themselves, and, by availing themselves of all possible circumstances, unite with all forces who can be united, and lose no time to overcome the danger of counter-revolution, to save the cause of socialism in Hungary and safeguard the independence and freedom of people's Hungary.

It is absolutely erroneous to refer, as some people have done, to the events in Hungary and those in Poland in the same terms. Poland has insisted on its socialist system. It has continued its support of the Warsaw treaty and its policy of friendship with the Soviet Union. But in Hungary, the counter-revolutionaries have the upper hand and the Nagy Government has announced its withdrawal from the Warsaw treaty. The Polish United Workers Party has pointed out in a statement that "the force of reaction which push Hungary to disaster met in Poland with decided condemnation". All socialists should adopt such attitude.

The Hungarian working people are not isolated or without support in their struggle. The working people in the countries neighbouring Hungary are showing a deep concern over the fate of the Hungarian people and the future of Hungary's socialist cause. Public opinion in the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Yugoslavia have all pointed to the danger of the counter-revolutionary restoration in Hungary. They all have expressed their support to the Hungarian working people in their fight to safeguard the socialist cause. The Executive Committee of the Italian Communist Party has drawn particular attention to the necessity at present of stationing Soviet troops in Hungary, because otherwise anarchy and white terror would undoubtedly occur. Thus Hungary would become a centre of provocation against the peace of all Europe.

While giving support to the Egyptian people, the Chinese people are closely concerned about the struggle of the Hungarian people against those who would restore counter-revolution. The present situation in Hungary recalls to us the situation in China after the 1927 betrayal of the revolution by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei. But the Hungarian people today have much more favourable conditions than the Chinese people had at that time. We are convinced that despite, serious, temporary difficulties, the Hungarian people will find the way to cope with such difficulties and win final victory.

PEKING November 3 - The Chinese military mission led by General Teng Hua today left Yugoslavia after 20-days friendly visit to that country, according to Tanjug. During their stay in Yugoslavia, members of the mission were received by President Tito and visited various cities.

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CONSPIRACY IN HUNGARY SMASHED.

PEKING November 4 -- The reactionary forces against the Hungarian people were smashed this morning and a new worker-peasant revolutionary government headed by Janos Kadar was set up, according to a Tass report from Budapest.

The new government has called on the Hungarian people to unite their efforts to safeguard the achievements under the system of people's democracy and completely smash the conspirators headed by former officers under Horthy who had served in Hitler's army.

The Soviet Army Command has been asked by the new government to co-operate with it in repressing the rebels crouching under the wing of remnant elements of the Nagy government which has disintegrated after the Hungarian patriots withdrew from it.

Counter-revolutionary gangsters hiding in public buildings have been suppressed.

All Hungarian patriots are actively taking part in disarming the rebels in Budapest and other places and cleaning resistance pockets set up by fascist groups.

--- --

SPLIT IN BRITISH CONSERVATIVE RANKS.

LONDON November 4 -- The Conservative Party itself is in danger of falling apart as a result of Eden's obstinacy in carrying through aggression in Egypt in defiance of the United Nations Charter and public opinion at home and abroad.

First crack in the Government over the Suez war policy came last night when Anthony Nutting, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, resigned. In his letter of resignation to Eden, Nutting said: "I have for some time found myself in growing disagreement with certain aspects of our foreign policy in relation to the Middle East.

"More especially I have advised most strongly against the decisions and actions of the Government with regard to the war which is now going on between Israel and Egypt. For these reasons I do not honestly feel it possible for me to defend the Government's position either in the Parliament or in the United Nations".

Nutting, in his resignation threw light on the concealed and painful disagreement and dissatisfaction with the Government policy among many conservatives who, whatever their own consciences, voted against the Labour motion of censure on the Government policy at the House of Commons last Friday.

Disapproval of Government Suez policy within the Conservative Party was first signalled at the Conservative Party Conference at Llandudno by William Yates. It was again expressed yesterday by Cyril Osborne who had the courage to say in the House of Commons that many Conservative members "feel terribly perplexed and worried". The thought that so many ordinary people the fact that bombs were being used caused more anxiety than anything else. In the presence of the Conservative Party whips who had forced Conservative M.P.s to support Eden in the vote of censure, he appealed to Eden: "So far as it is possible--and I hope it is possible immediately and completely--bombing should cease".

It is estimated that some 40 Conservative members share Osborne's view. The resignation of Nutting is another sign of the total bankruptcy of the Tory policy of war.

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ORDER RESTORED IN HUNGARY

PRAGUE November 5 - With the rapid defeat of the reactionary forces in Hungary, the Hungarian Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Government has brought the situation in the whole country under control, according to a report from Budapest. Revolutionary order is being swiftly restored and established in Budapest and other places in Hungary.

All working people who love the people's regime and true patriots in Hungary have warmly responded to the call of the Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Government and are actively participating in the work of disarming the counter-revolutionary clique and mopping up the counter-revolutionaries in their lairs. In the face of the mighty people's revolutionary force, fascist bandits who were entrenched in some public buildings surrendered themselves yesterday. The Nagy Government which cleared the way for the counter-revolutionary and reactionary forces is no longer in existence.

The proclamation and programme of the Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Government has profoundly attracted the working people and all upright patriotic people. In the factories and in the streets, people were warmly discussing the call and programme laid down in the revolutionary government's proclamation to the Hungarian people. They pledged themselves to work for the realisation of this programme. Many workers who had been deceived by counter-revolutionary propaganda now saw clearly how the enemies of the people's regime had in the past 10 days and more tortured and hanged revolutionary workers, prominent social personages and outstanding Hungarians and how they had tried to restore the capitalist and landlord rule in Hungary.

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Press release last night. Nehru informed the Indonesian Prime Minister that he proposed Delhi to be the meeting place as he was unable to leave that city at present.

Similar communication has been sent to the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan, the press note added.

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INDONESIA AGREES TO HOLD CONFERENCE IN NEW DELHI

DJAKARTA November 5 - Indonesian Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo is agreeable to Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's proposal to hold an emergency Colombo powers conference in New Delhi to discuss the Anglo-French aggression against Egypt, according to Antara today.

The Indonesian Government holds that the most important thing is to hold the conference as soon as possible.

Premier Sastroamidjojo is still awaiting replies from the Prime Ministers of Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan concerning the convocation of the conference.

- - - - -

AGREEMENT ON PEACE AND NEUTRALITY REACHED IN LAOS

HANOI November 3 - The Royal Laotian Government and the Pathet Lao fighting units reached agreement on the question of peace and neutrality yesterday, according to Vientiane Radio. This is the first result achieved since the two parties started their political conference on September 25.

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ORDER RESTORED IN HUNGARY (continued)

The Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Government in its proclamation to the Hungarian people of November 5 said the new government would speedily restore order and establish security and tranquility throughout the country.

It called upon workers and patriots to do their utmost to assist the Government and Government organisations in carrying out these tasks and to resume their duties immediately in production and work. The call of the Government has received widespread response.

- - - - -

KADAR CABLES TO UNITED NATIONS TO IGNORE NAGY APPEAL

PEKING November 5 - Imre Nagy's appeal to put the Hungarian question on the United Nations agenda was without legal validity, and could not be regarded as an appeal from the Hungarian Government. This was stated in a cable sent yesterday to Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General of the United Nations Organisation, by Janos Kadar, Premier, and Imre Horvath, Minister of Foreign Affairs, of the Hungarian Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Government, according to Tass.

The Hungarian Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Government firmly opposed putting the question to the Security Council or the General Assembly for discussion, the cable said.

The question was an internal affair of the People's Republic of Hungary, it pointed out.

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ORDER RESTORED IN HUNGARY (continued)

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-3-

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY

Tuesday, November 6, 1956

PEKING PRESS REVIEW (continued)

The departure of U Nu, Chairman of the Burmese Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, from Peking for home is reported.

The papers carry news of yesterday's session of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress which ratified four Geneva conventions of 1949.

The People's Daily editorial is devoted to the national conference of popularising science which has just ended here. It says the exchange of experience has been very positive and will help in raising the workers scientific, technical and cultural level. This will contribute to higher productivity and ensure the fulfilment of the 5-Year Plan, it adds.

Peking papers continue to report activities in all parts of China in celebration of the approaching October revolution anniversary. The opening in Peking yesterday evening of the Soviet film week is widely covered.

A feature in the People's Daily describes the assistance given to Chinese technical personnel by Soviet experts working on the Yangtze River bridge in Wuhan. The Kwangming Daily carries a tribute by Chinese nuclear physicist Chao Chung-yao to Soviet assistance to China in the field of science.

Frontpaged in the Peking Daily Worker is a message by Lai Jo-yu, President of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, to Grishin,

[illegible]

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

F C1022/37

CHINA

7356.

FROM

H.C.H.A.

No.

Dated

5 November 1936

Received in
Registry

13/11

Great victory of the Hungarian People.
Such is the title of the editorial
of November 5 of the "People's Daily."

References to former relevant papers

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at H.C.H.A. November 7.

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14/11

(Print)

(How disposed of)

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J.F.W.
10/11

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(Index)

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F 10-22/37

GREAT VICTORY OF HUNGARIAN PEOPLE.

PEKING. November 5 - "Celebrate the Great Victory of the Hungarian People" is the title of today's editorial of the People's Daily.

The joyful news has arrived that the Hungarian people have set up a workers and peasants revolutionary government headed by Comrade Janos Kadar and, with the support of the Soviet armed forces in Hungary, have overthrown the reactionary Nagy government which betrayed the Hungarian people and the Hungarian nation. The Hungarian people have defeated the scheme for a counter-revolutionary comeback and have the entire situation in Hungary under control. The Chinese people who have been deeply concerned about the fate of Hungary in the past 10 days or more, warmly greet this great victory of the working people and all patriots of Hungary.

Our Hungarian brothers have gained freedom from the terror created by the counter-revolutionaries. Hungary's socialist cause, national independence and people's democracy have once again been made secure. The scheme of the imperialist elements and the Hungarian traitors to stage a comeback for counter-revolution has been shattered. The imperialist elements who were rejoicing and counting their chickens before they were hatched will tear their hair and become abusive. Well, it does not matter what they do.

We congratulate the Hungarian people, not only for their own sake but for the entire socialist camp, for the common interests of the independence, freedom and security of all the socialist countries, the common interests of the socialist cause throughout the world. A successful restoration of counter-revolution rule in Hungary would mean a serious threat to the independence, freedom and security of all the European socialist countries from the imperialist aggressive forces. This threat was directed at the socialist countries in Europe, and also the socialist countries in Asia and the socialist and workers movements throughout the world.

In fact, the Hungarian people, with the assistance of the Soviet Union, have rapidly defeated the danger of a counter-revolutionary comeback. This is also a tremendous contribution to world peace and to the entire struggle against imperialism and colonialism. It will not be difficult for the Egyptian people, the people of Asia and Africa, the people of Britain and France, the United States and other European and American countries who cherish peace and freedom and oppose aggression and war, to realise the assistance rendered to them by this victory. As the forces of peace and democracy and of the socialist camp are not threatened and hamstrung in Hungary, they can give greater support to the struggle against imperialism and colonialism in Egypt and other places. The defeat of the Hungarian people would encourage the imperialists and the colonialists to rampage; on the other hand, the victory of the Hungarian people damps their ardour and confidence.

It is quite clear that the Hungarian people have won their victory with the help of the Soviet Union. The stand of the Soviet Union towards the Hungarian events has been the just stand of an internationalism. The Soviet Union has respected the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Hungarian People's Republic and has not interfered in its internal affairs. But when the Hungarian government representing the will and the national interests of the people asked the Soviet Union for its help and when the people of socialist Hungary might have been reduced to fascist slavery without such help, the Soviet Government and people saw no reason to stand aside with folded arms. To help the working people of their brother country rid themselves of agonising disaster, the gallant Soviet people did not / to shed their own blood, as they did once before.

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1		2		THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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DAILY BULLETIN NO.1680

Monday, November 5, 1956

<u>This issue includes:</u>	<u>Page.</u>
Great victory of Hungarian people.....	2
Chinese protests British-French aggression.....	4
London says: "Eden must go and go quickly".....	5
Nation-wide protests in Britain.....	5
Hungarian Worker- Peasant Revolutionary Government formed.....	6
Gaitskell calls for change in government.....	7
Peking press review.....	8
"Shocking aggression", says British papers.....	9
Suhrawardy denounces Anglo-French aggression.....	10
United States to expand more airfields in Thailand.....	11
Lai Jo-yu protests against French kidnapping.....	11
Japan to be active on world stage, Hatoyama.....	12
Indonesia calls for Colombo powers meeting.....	13
Disorder in British Parliament.....	14
V.P.A. demands moves against military exercises.....	15
Japanese commodities exhibition delegation feted.....	16
Indonesian workers start boycott against British and French...	17
Peking citizens demonstrate in support of Egypt.....	17
Nation-wide protests against Anglo-French aggression.....	19
Pakistan people condemn Anglo-French invasion of Egypt.....	20
Hungarian counter-revolutionaries show their true colours.....	24
"People's Daily" editorial on unity of socialist countries....	25
"People's Daily" on Hungarian situation.....	30
Split in British conservative ranks.....	32
Mass parade against Anglo-French aggression.....	28

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
1	2
cms	Ref:
FO 371 / 120880	
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-3-

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.

Monday, November 5, 1956.

GREAT VICTORY OF HUNGARIAN PEOPLE. (continued)

We salute the Hungarian fighters who have persistently upheld socialism. We salute the people and army of the Soviet Union who have twice helped the Hungarian people to achieve liberation.

The importance of the great friendship of the Soviet Union for the peoples of socialist countries has been gloriously proved once more in the Hungarian events. Some people underestimate the immense importance of Soviet friendship, the spirit of internationalism of the Soviet people, the necessity for solidarity among all the socialist countries, the necessity of the Warsaw Treaty, the need to hold fast to the principle of proletarian internationalism and seriously propagate internationalism among the peoples of all countries to overcome the tendency to national chauvinism. The shocking recent events in Hungary should serve as a grave lesson to such people.

The fact that the Hungarian people have so rapidly been able to overcome the danger of counter-revolution demonstrates that the counter-revolutionary adventurists are no more than the scourgings of the Hungarian nation; they do not and cannot have a real mass basis. However it should be noted how rampant the counter-revolutionary terror was able to become at one point. This shows that there are indeed quite a number of counter-revolutionaries in Hungary. It shows that there are still a great many Hungarian people who have not drawn a clear dividing line between friend and enemy and do not understand the necessity for revolutionary dictatorship over the enemy. It also shows that the previous Hungarian leaders did not seriously mobilise and depend on the masses to apply real revolutionary dictatorship over the enemy.

The many mistakes made by the former Hungarian leaders in carrying out people's democracy must now be corrected; and similarly the many mistakes made in applying revolutionary dictatorship must now be corrected. Democracy for the people and dictatorship for the enemy are two aspects of the same problem; any one-sidedness is incorrect. With the assistance of the Soviet Union the Hungarian people have in the main won victory over the enemy, but the victory is far from consolidated. The counter-revolutionary forces have not yet been cleaned up. To consolidate the victory requires hard work - close reliance on the mass of the people to stamp out the counter-revolutionary forces, and the establishment of a truly powerful revolutionary dictatorship and a really solid socialist people's republic broadly based on people's democracy.

-4-

CHINESE PROTESTS BRITISH-FRENCH AGGRESSION. (continued)

that this armed aggression is for the purpose of assuring freedom of navigation on the Suez Canal. The armed aggression carried out by Britain and France, and by Israel under their instigation has disrupted all navigation on the canal and blocked the way of peaceful negotiations to ensure freedom of navigation on the canal.

The armed aggression against Egypt perpetrated by the British and the French Governments is a gross violation of the United Nations Charter, an open provocation against the peoples of the Asian and African countries, and a grave threat to world peace. Such a state of affairs cannot but arouse the indignation and protest of all countries and peoples who love peace and uphold justice.

The Chinese Government feels itself obliged to lodge a grave protest with the British and French Governments and serve them a serious warning. The British and French Governments must stop immediately all armed attack against Egypt, and withdraw at once all their armed forces which have invaded Egypt. The Israeli armed forces which have invaded into Egypt under their instigation must be withdrawn immediately behind the armistice line. The question of ensuring freedom of navigation on the Suez Canal must be settled through peaceful negotiation. Should the British and French Governments set at nought the righteous condemnation and reasonable demand of the people of the world and persist in a war of aggression against Egypt, they would certainly be faced with inestimable grave consequences.

"STOP WAR", SAYS NEHRU.

NEW DELHI. November 3 - Indian Prime Minister Nehru told press correspondents at the airport here after his return from Hyderabad yesterday that "the first thing obviously is to stop the war" in the Middle East.

Asked about proceedings at the United Nations on the Middle Eastern situation, Nehru said: "The important thing in these matters is how to proceed faster with the processes of the United Nations, faster than the processes of war".

He said: "We shall work with everybody for a settlement. Naturally we are very much concerned about all these things that are happening. We want a settlement. The first thing obviously is to stop the war".

Prime Minister Nehru considered Sir Anthony Eden's reasons for

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES	
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CHINA ANNOUNCES AID TO HUNGARY.

Enla

C1022/37^(A)

PEKING. November 7 - China decided to grant to the Hungarian Workers and Peasants Government material and financial aid valued at 30 million rubles. This was stated in a cable sent to Hungarian Prime Minister Janos Kadar by Premier Chou En-lai yesterday. The cable reads:

Hearing of the formation of the Hungarian Workers and Peasants Government and its control of the entire situation in Hungary, the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people wish to extend to the Hungarian Workers and Peasants Government and the Hungarian people warm and heartfelt greetings.

The Hungarian Workers and Peasants Government; with the help of the Soviet Union, speedily crushed the frantic attack by forces of a reactionary restoration. This tremendous victory is successfully protecting the constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic solemnly adopted in 1949 and the socialist system set forth in it, thus safeguarding the most fundamental interests of the Hungarian people.

The Government of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people greatly concurred with the difficulties facing the Hungarian people. The Chinese Government has decided to grant to the Hungarian Workers and Peasants Government material and financial aid valued at 30 million rubles without any conditions as friendly aid and support to the fraternal Hungarian people.

May the friendship which has long existed between the people of China and Hungary continue growing and becoming firmer.

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friendship and co-operation between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. This declaration fully manifests that the Soviet Union faithfully adheres to the mutual interests of the great solidarity of the socialist countries and the principle of proletarian internationalism. The measure taken by the Government of the Soviet Union will undoubtedly further strengthen the unity and friendly relations between socialist countries, thus promoting their common economic upsurge.

The great friendship and co-operation between China and the Soviet Union has gained all round development. The Chinese people know only too well by their own experience that the everlasting friendship between China and the Soviet Union is in conformity with the fundamental interests of the people of our two countries and of the whole of progressive humanity. Further consolidation and development of this friendship would greatly strengthen the forces of peace, democracy and socialism, and contribute greatly to the cause of upholding world peace and the progress of mankind.

May the everlasting, fraternal friendship between the people of China and the Soviet Union be consolidated and developed with each passing day.

Long live the great October socialist revolution!

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EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR ANNOUNCES CHINA'S HELP

Enter

PEKING November 7 - More than a quarter of a million workers, women, students throughout China have expressed "a desire to volunteer on the side of the Egyptians in their struggle against the imperialists", in letters to the Egyptian Embassy in Peking.

Making this announcement a statement released at a special press conference this morning, Egyptian Ambassador Hassan Ragab, said: "This matter was referred to the Egyptian Government in Cairo in case they would like to avail themselves of this friendly help from our Chinese brothers".

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F 01022/38

1956

CHINA

FROM

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No.

Dated

2 hours on, 1950

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References to later relevant papers

THINGS TO BE WRITTEN ON THIS PAGE

Egyptian Ambassador announces
Chika's Leg.

MINUTES

I wonder who opened and read the
2 million letters for the Egyptian Ambassador.

W. E. Symon

14/11

African Dept. 15/11
The Egyptian Ambassador is pressing to the
consulate. He should be asked to read the 2
million letters.

R. H. 14/11

00140

EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR ANNOUNCES CHINA'S HELP

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people of the Hungarian Workers and Peasants Government material and financial aid valued at 30 million rubles without any conditions as friendly aid and support to the fraternal Hungarian people.

May the friendship which has long existed between the people of China and Hungary continue growing and becoming firmer.

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-5-

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY

Wednesday, November 7, 1956

EGYPTIAN AMBASSADOR ANNOUNCES CHINA'S HELP (continued)

The embassy received innumerable letters of support and sympathy from all over the country and the People's Republic of Mongolia, Korea and Vietnam and other countries in the Far East, the ambassador added. From Peking alone, over two million persons wrote, he said.

He also announced that many Chinese organisations had offered to supply Egypt with food, medical supplies, medicines and other medical stores. "This is being organised now, and soon will be despatched from China to Egypt through the quickest possible channels", he said.

"In the darkest moments through which my beloved country was passing", Ambassador Ragab said, "we here in China were able to see a very bright ray which enlightened the heart of all Egyptians when we witnessed the great sympathy and determined support of the great Chinese nation for our just cause".

The Egyptian Ambassador said that the Anglo-French imperialists had launched war against Egypt "when they found the Egyptian people refused to give up their freedom and independence".

British and French air forces bombed Egyptian cities, towns and villages, "killing innocent women, children, and destroying factories, mosques, churches, schools", Ambassador Ragab continued. "Even hospitals were not spared in this unjustified attack upon Egyptian soil.

"Britain and France by their attack on Egypt are writing a warrant of their own moral death. Their reputation is seriously undermined not only in Egypt and the Arab world but also all over the world.

"But let these warmongers know of one thing", the Egyptian diplomat said, "no matter what kind of losses to lives and property they can inflict on peace-loving Egyptians, by their superior weapons and numbers, they will never be able to break Egypt's fighting spirit, which in the end will prevail on any gains they could have achieved by their slaughter.

"The battle that we Egyptians are fighting now does not concern Egypt alone. It concerns all the countries who suffered in the past, under the heavy yoke of imperialism and were able to throw this yoke in a moment of imperialist weakness. Such countries have to be always on the alert, because imperialism, like all professional criminals, will be always trying to return back to the scene of its past crimes, whenever he feels fit and able to do it.

"Egypt's example is a great lesson to be followed by other countries who are still suffering under the yoke of imperialism. Egypt has proved that the deadliest weapon against imperialist aggression is determination, courage and, above all, unity".

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-6-

KOREAN PAPER COMMENTS ON SOVIET STATEMENT (continued)

It stated: "The Korean people treasure their friendship and unity with the Soviet Union as they treasure their own country".

The editorial pointed out that recently the imperialists have attempted to weaken the solidarity of the countries in the socialist camp. But no slander or vilification could impair it. The Korean people who have closely linked their fate with the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union and China will forever treasure their fraternal unity with all countries in the socialist camp.

- - - - -

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG RECEIVES ITALIAN MISSION

PEKING November 6 - Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, received all the members of the agricultural mission of the Italian Socialist Party at 10.30 p.m. today.

Among those present at the reception were Chou En-lai, Vice-Chairman, and Teng Hsiao-ping, Chief Secretary, of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

- - - - -

VIETNAM GOVERNMENT CONDEMNS ATTACK ON EGYPT

HANOI November 3 - The Government of the Vietnam Democratic Republic declared today that it fully supported the proposed urgent conference of the Bandung powers to discuss Anglo-French armed attack on Egypt.

In a statement, the Government said that the people of Vietnam expressed full sympathy for the Egyptian people and were convinced that Egypt's self-defence would be backed by the peoples of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world.

It said that the Government of the Vietnam Democratic Republic condemned the Anglo-French aggressive act "which jeopardises the sovereignty, territorial integrity and national independence of Egypt". It "violates the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter" and "is a threat to peace in Asia, Africa and the rest of the world".

The statement demanded that the Government's of Britain and France "immediately cease their aggression against Egypt and open negotiations with the Government of Egypt so as to solve the Suez problem through peaceful means, in line with the 6 principles adopted by the United Nations Security Council".

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

F C1022/39

FROM

H.C.H.A.

No.

Dated 12 hours 12 Jan, 1950

Received in
Registry—

13/11

References to former relevant papers

- Dec 134
- 138

MINUTES

The Chinese gift might buy the Egyptians
another ship to sink in the Canal.

Ch. C. Symon
14/11
P. R. H. 14/11

African Dept. 7/15/11

(Print)

(How disposed of)

(Action
completed)

H.C. 16/11

(Index)

H.C. 15/10/57

References to later relevant papers

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-3- 01022/39

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.Monday, November 12, 1956.PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT NASSER. (continued)

The text of the message, dated November 10, was released here today by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It reads:

On behalf of the Government and people of the People's Republic of China, I salute the Egyptian people who are heroically resisting the aggression of British and French imperialism and its tool Israel and resolutely defending the independence and freedom of their motherland. I assure you that we stand with you firmly and steadfastly.

The British and French imperialists are dreaming of restoring their domination over Egypt by the bankrupt "gunboat policy". The United States imperialists are conniving at and making use of the British and French aggression in an attempt to profit thereby. But in this present era, these plots of theirs are doomed to failure. Although Britain and France are militarily superior to Egypt for the time being, they are opposed by the people of the whole world and the overwhelming majority of the countries, and are thus utterly isolated and morally bankrupt. Justice is entirely on the side of Egypt. The peoples of the Arab countries, the peoples of the Asian and African countries, and all peoples of the world who love peace and uphold justice support you. Therefore, so long as the heroic Egyptian people will strengthen their solidarity and persist in their struggle, they will certainly win final victory.

The Chinese Government and people fully support the just struggle of the Egyptian people. The British and French imperialists and Israel must immediately stop their aggression and withdraw their aggression forces from Egyptian soil. It is absolutely impermissible to subject Egyptian sovereignty and territory to any form of encroachment.

The Chinese Government and people are adopting various measures to support the heroic struggle of the Egyptian Government and people. In response to your government's recent appeal, the Chinese Government has decided to offer your country without compensation a gift of 20 million Swiss francs in cash.

On behalf of the Chinese people, I once again extend to you and to all the Egyptian people our highest respects.

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-4-

"PEOPLE'S DAILY" ON BAGHDAD PACT COUNTRIES. (continued)

He pointed out that the Baghdad pact was not protection for its members against attack by Britain if they should find it necessary to defend their sovereignty and independence. The perfidious Anglo-French attack on Egypt and the pretext of "protecting peace and security in the Middle East" made this clear.

This Anglo-French aggression against Egypt showed that "the greatest enemy of all Asian and African countries that have newly gained independence is still the imperialist powers which are trying to restore colonialism in this area. The unity of the Asian and African countries and their resistance to the aggression in any form form the main guarantee for the defence of independence and sovereignty and the safeguarding of peace in Asia and Africa".

In conclusion, the article expressed the view that Iraq's latest step would contribute to the unity of the Arab states and improve its own position among the Arab countries.

- - - - -

HUNGARIAN PAPER ON U.N. FRIDAY SESSION.

PRAGUE. November 11 - The United Nations now could help the Hungarian people by contributing to the restoration of peace and order in Hungary and the healing of the serious wounds received during the recent riotings. This was stated in the Hungarian paper Nep Szabadsag yesterday commenting on the Friday session of the United Nations General Assembly, according to C.T.K.

It seemed, the paper pointed out, that the United Nations did not follow this road and considered it rather desirable to kindle passion and hatred. Such an attitude complied with the interests of the Western circles, but did not contribute at all to the solution of the urgent internal problems of the Hungarian people, the paper said.

- - - - -

OVERALL AID TO HUNGARIAN PEASANTS.

PRAGUE. November 11 - The Hungarian Government is to give overall assistance to agricultural co-operatives, state farms, machine stations and individual peasants, according to the Czechoslovak News Agency yesterday quoting Budapest radio.

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

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C1022/40 ✓

1956

CHINA

FROM

N.C.H.A.

No.

Dated 14 November, 1956

Received in
Registry—

16/11

Full text of an editorial in
the "People's Daily" of November 14
on the events in Hungary.

References to former relevant papers

MINUTES

This is a strident and unconvincing
article: the marked passage on p 24 reveals
misgivings among its authors. This sort of
propaganda will do the Chinese no good
among neutral nations as it does not
acknowledge anyone's right to be a
neutral.

D. E. Symon

19/11

Northern Dept ^{21/11} As far as the Chinese communists can be
shocked, I think events in Hungary have
done so.

Ch. H. 22/11

L. H. 19/11

(Action
completed)

(Index)

23/11

12/12/57

19/11

References to later relevant papers

49724

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C1022/40

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.

Wednesday, November 14, 1956

PEOPLE'S DAILY ON HUNGARY.

PEKING, November 13 - Following is the full text of an editorial on the events in Hungary in the People's Daily of November 14:

The Western countries are making a terrific uproar over the so-called Hungarian issue. In defiance of the unanimous opposition of the Hungarian Government and other countries of the socialist camp, the delegates of Western countries at the United Nations General Assembly repeatedly discussed the internal affairs of Hungary and adopted an illegal resolution to intervene in the internal affairs of Hungary. The Western "majority" at the United Nations ignored the fact that the stationing of Soviet forces in Hungary is purely a question within the powers of the Soviet Union and Hungary, and passed a resolution demanding their withdrawal. Many countries have launched a ferocious movement against the Soviet Union and communism and made a great variety of gestures of "sympathy" with the Hungarian people.

But with whom did they "sympathise" in fact?

As recently as November 9, a Reuter correspondent in Vienna, rejoicing in others misfortunes, made an exaggerated report of a Budapest radio broadcast saying: ".....a distillery at Pest, Hidegkut, was looted by the rebels, shops were robbed.....at the western railway station of Budapest: trucks were broken open and everything taken away'.....many buildings in the city were fired. In several districts communist party offices were stormed by rebels while in others 'rebels appeared from the cellars and surrendered'". The Reuter reporter went on, obviously trying to ignore the fact that most of the rebels had surrendered, to "observers in Vienna" to the effect that these reports could mean that "the rebels were again gaining ground in Budapest".

It was not the rebels that "were gaining ground in Budapest". This was only the wishful thinking of the imperialist world. But the Reuter correspondent outlined the activities of the Hungarian counter-revolutionaries whom the Western countries extol as "freedom fighters". Who were they? Thugs who looted, fired buildings and murdered people. The question before the gentlemen at the United Nations is why these thugs should not be firmly suppressed.

These thugs were the same ones who 10 days ago in Budapest and other places in Hungary killed, hanged and burned to death communists and other sterling patriots. They were people under the command of Horthy's fascist officer Pal Maleter, who had led the armed rebellion since October 23 and was finally appointed by Imre Nagy as "Minister of Defence". They were also trusted henchmen of Cardinal Mindszenty who committed high treason and urged in his November 3 broadcast speech the elimination of socialism and the restoration of capitalism and the privileges of the church; who took refuge in the United States legation on November 4.

The Western nations tried their hardest to pose as friends of the Hungarian people; as defenders of Hungary's "freedom". When terrorists killed, burned and plotted to restore the fascist regime, the Western nations sang their praises; when the murderers and arsonists were suppressed by the socialist forces, they lowered their flags in "mourning". This is the Western Powers' "friendship" for the Hungarian people! This is the "freedom" the Western Powers wished for Hungary!

Take a look at these defenders of "freedom".

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PEOPLE'S DAILY ON HUNGARY... (continued).

The speech made by the Spanish delegate Jose Felix de Lequerica at the November 4 emergency session of the United Nations General Assembly in support of United States proposal to intervene in Hungary might be taken as well representing the real face of these heroes. He said: "And now that it is suffering, our hearts speak out. We hope the United Nations will intervene to liberate that country..... I have seen the death of tens of thousands of human beings in my own country and that is why I raise my voice in fervent support of the United States resolution". So it is Spain - the only country in the world today openly advocating fascism, the Franco regime which has killed real freedom fighters by tens of thousands - which is now yelping for Hungary's "liberation!". It was not hard to gain an insight into the United States resolution and the United States plan of "liberating" Hungary when it has the fervent support of the Franco regime.

Though the hands of the British and French Governments were wet with the blood of the Egyptian and Algerian peoples, they still led the pack together with the United States in defending the "freedom" of Hungary. Britain's Prime Minister Eden said on the 9th that in Hungary, the freedom and existence of a heroic nation had been stamped out by "the most ruthless and savage repression". Yet the British aggression against Egypt only "did what the United Nations, without a police force could not do in the time", namely..... "preserve the peace" in Egypt by bombing. The French Premier Guy Mollet's speech was even more shameless. According to him the British and French action had "at no moment been operation of war against Egypt. Who would dare to say that Cairo had been treated like Budapest..... The Soviet intervention in these past days must give the free world a better understanding of what France's action in North Africa signifies and what her departure would signify".

Mollet said that events in Hungary had demonstrated which nations were truly concerned with freedom. We considered this sentence as entirely correct, but not according to Mollet's meaning. Of course it would be best if the Hungarian Government itself could successfully suppress the fascist armed revolt backed by the West. (Not even the Western countries could deny it was a revolt). But when the Hungarian Government had inadequate strength and asked the Soviet troops for help, it did not alter the essence of the matter by one jot. The Soviet Union showed its concern for the freedom of Hungary and defended it.

It is not difficult for any cool-headed person with political understanding to see that if Hungary had not requested the assistance of the Soviet troops and if they had not assisted, Hungary today could only become a fascist hell, an imperialist outpost for overthrowing various other East European Peoples' Democracies and engineering a new world war. What freedom would this have given to the Hungarian people? And what good could this do to world peace and the progress of mankind? The Soviet Government on October 30 had just issued a declaration repeating its respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Peoples' Democracies, and its readiness to reopen discussions with the Warsaw Treaty nations on the question of Soviet troops in Hungary and other countries. At the same time the Soviet troops had in reality withdrawn from Budapest. Certainly the Soviet forces would not have chosen to go through the hardships involved and take action again, unless it had been a case of absolute necessity, of being impelled by comradely sympathy, by the duty to share common difficulties with the socialist countries, and by the urgent nature of the situation after the complete exposure of the fascist plot for a comeback. Are not all these things quite obvious? (continued)

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NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.

Wednesday, November 14, 1956

PEOPLE'S DAILY ON HUNGARY. (continued)

In helping the Hungarian Workers and Peasants Revolutionary Government to suppress the revolt, the Soviet Union did not violate its declaration of October 30, nor the 5 principles of peaceful co-existence. Soviet forces do not want an inch of Hungarian soil. After the restoration of order in Hungary, the Soviet Union and Hungary will again hold negotiations over the question of stationing troops under the Warsaw Treaty. There cannot be any question of United Nations police forces carrying out any sort of international control over any land or waters within the territory of Hungary.

Therefore, to mention Soviet assistance to Hungary and the British and French invasion of Egypt in the same breath is either a result of malicious intention or of misunderstanding. The facts are exactly opposite. When the British and French aggressors were engaged in killing and arson in Egypt and Algeria, the Western countries were instigating the fascist elements to murder and arson in Hungary with weapons supplied by the West.

When the Soviet Government lent its firm support to Egypt against aggression, it was firmly helping Hungary to combat the restoration of fascism. Clearly the stand taken by the Soviet Union towards the Hungarian people is identical with that towards the Egyptian people - to help them defend freedom and oppose imperialism.

Similarly, the stand of many Western countries towards the Hungarian and Egyptian peoples is also identical - to slaughter them, try to enslave them, deprive them of their sovereignty and interfere in their internal affairs.

The freedom and existence of the Hungarian nation, like those of the Egyptian nation, have not been eliminated as Eden stated. Although Eden and other imperialist elements had indeed dreamt of that, the dream in both cases has failed to come true.

Cairo indeed was not "treated like Budapest". British and French aircraft bombed Cairo and the Soviet troops did not help the Egyptian people to put out the fire as they did in Budapest.

But the Soviet Union did after all interfere with British and French actions in Egypt and forced those countries to accept a ceasefire. To put Mollet's words in another way: British and French action in North Africa in these past days must give the oppressed world a better understanding of what the intervention of the Soviet Union signifies and what her departure would signify to Hungary.

Hungarian Premier Kadar said in his broadcast message on November 11: "Those who are of the opinion that Soviet troops must be first withdrawn from the country are willy-nilly coming out for the counter-revolution, for the imperialist yoke, for the forfeiture of national independence".

This is actually the demand of the Western countries in the United Nations. The present "majority" in the United Nations would by no means support the socialist aspirations of the peoples of the socialist countries. On the contrary, they are ready to push Hungary and all other Peoples' Democracies straight along the road of Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and Ngo Dinh Diem. This is the essence of the various resolutions passed by the United Nations General Assembly in its emergency sessions. A resolution passed by the United Nations demanding the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary clearly shows that such a withdrawal is to the advantage of imperialism but certainly not of the Hungarian people.

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-24-

PEOPLE'S DAILY ON HUNGARY. (continued)

We hold that the actions taken by the Soviet Union in Hungary are entirely just. This is because the Soviet troops are stationed in Hungary not only in conformity with the Warsaw Treaty, and at the request of the Hungarian Government to assist in restoring order, but also because that request coincides with the genuine desires of the Hungarian people. It was precisely because of this that the counter-revolutionary forces were quickly smashed and social order throughout Hungary had been steadily and definitely restored. The Hungarian people, though they showed justified dissatisfaction with the work of their former government, never demanded the discarding of socialism and acceptance of fascism. The action to restore fascism by arms was not a "spontaneous" mass action, but one imposed on the Hungarian people by a gang of conspirators instigated by the United States and other Western countries. This was pointed out even by the United Press reporter in Vienna who wrote: "Within hours of the start of the revolt, thousands of red, white and green flags, all of them bearing the traditional 'Kossuth' arms appeared as though by order. Equally, thousands of red, white and green armbands appeared suddenly."

"Everyone had a weapon."

"Another indication of the preparations is the ease with which the rebels secured transport. Every unit had lorries; there were couriers with motor cycles".

Of course, the whole development of the Hungarian events was complex; those who were dissatisfied with the work of the former Government were of various types and even those who participated in the rebellion were of various types. They were not all fascist elements. Moreover, it is always an extraordinary situation when foreign troops assist in suppressing rebellion. No matter how pure and excellent the motives may be, it is certain to give rise to temporary misunderstandings on the part of some people. Vicious distortion of the facts by many bourgeois newspapers adds to the difficulty of ordinary people in getting a true picture. Some of such ordinary people are among those who now echo the imperialists in their anti-Soviet and anti-communist outcries. But lies cannot live long. Dark clouds do not always hang in the sky; after order is fully restored in Hungary, people will see more clearly what, after all, the Hungarian people actually demanded and whether the Soviet Union has damaged or in fact defended Hungary's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

There is nothing surprising in reactionaries instigating an anti-Soviet and anti-communist wave. It is well known that as far back as 1939, an anti-Soviet and anti-communist wave on world-wide scale was set going. Anti-Soviet and anti-communist elements slandered the Soviet and the communist parties of all countries in various ways, with the result that for a time considerable confusion ensued in the socialist ranks. But as time passed, the slander went bankrupt and the prestige of the Soviet Union and the communist parties of all countries grew still higher.

Similarly, anti-Soviet and anti-communist waves also occurred in China one after another at the instigation of the Kuomintang reactionaries. Even as late as February, 1946, the reactionaries organised their last anti-Soviet demonstration and destroyed the Chungking offices of the Hsin Hua Daily, organ of the Chinese Communist Party and the Min Chu Pao, organ of the China Democratic League. But all this failed to save the reactionary rule. Those who were temporarily hoodwinked were able finally to realise who was their enemy and who was their friend.

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-25-

NEW CHINA NEWS AGENCY.Wednesday, November 14, 1956PEOPLE'S DAILY ON HUNGARY. (continued).

The reactionaries in the Western countries wanted to take advantage of the Hungarian event to legalise their subversive schemes against the Peoples' Democracies, to undermine the prestige of the Soviet Union and the Peoples' Democracies, to launch attacks on the international socialist movement and to divert the attention of world opinion from the Egyptian question. But their schemes could not be carried out as they desired. The Hungarian counter-revolutionaries appealed for help to the Western imperialists over the radio. But the imperialists could not rescue them after all, and at long last will not even be able to save themselves. The road to socialism, however hard and zigzag - as a result of the complexity of historical conditions - remains the only bright road for mankind.

The Hungarian events are also an important test of the socialists of every country. They are a test as to whether they are really true to the socialist principle and the principle of proletarian internationalism in the maelstrom of struggle; whether they can keep a cool Marxist mind in complex and difficult situations and not fall into vacillation, dejection and confusion. Communist parties in Western Europe have not been overwhelmed by this temporary difficulty. They resolutely told the truth in a fearless spirit of internationalism. As a result they were subjected to frenzied attacks by reactionaries. The office building of Central Committee of the Communist Party of France was burnt by mobs, the French Communist Party paper L'Humanite and the progressive newspaper Le Combat were also raided by mobs. This is not their defeat but is precisely their honour. To them we offer the highest communist greetings.

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1956

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

CHINA

F C1022/41

FROM

Chancery,
Peking.

No. 1030/28/56

Dated 9 November, 1956

Received in
Registry— 21/11

References to former relevant papers

(Print)

(How disposed of)

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completed)

(Index)

KL
26/11

Wing
15/10/57

References to later relevant papers

The People's Daily of November 6 reports that at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the P.P.C. on November 5, Chou En-lai delivered a report on foreign affairs, which was subsequently approved in principle by the Standing Committee.
(Copy: Moscow, Washington, Rangoon, & Singapore)

MINUTES

Although the text of Chou En-lai's speech has not been published, there have been separate announcements on the items which he dealt with in subsequent issues of the NCNA.

W. E. Symon

Here, again, there is reference to approval of the developments in Poland. These developments can hardly have been to the liking of the U.S.S.R.

22/11
L. H. Jones 22/11

But compared to events in Hungary these are a Polish-Ruman forenoon.

22/11
23/11

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CONFIDENTIAL

(1030/28/56)

BRITISH EMBASSY,

PEKING.

November 9, 1956.

C1022/41

Dear Department,

The People's Daily of November 6 reported on the front page that at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress held on the 5th, Chou En-lai delivered a report on the Sino-Burmese border question, the present situation in the Middle East, the problem of Hungary and the relations between Socialist countries. The Standing Committee then approved in principle this report on foreign affairs.

2. The strange feature about this is that neither the text nor a summary of Chou En-lai's speech was printed elsewhere in the paper, nor has any further indication of its substance since been published. It is of course possible that the full text or a summary is being reserved for publication at some more convenient date. This has happened in the past with important speeches.

3. We have heard from private sources that a relatively large part of the report was taken up by a discussion of the situation in Poland. Recent developments in Poland were described with approval; and in a review of the mistakes of the past, particular point was given to the lesson which had been pointed for the need for freedom of religion. The passage on Egypt was said to be relatively brief. Members of the audience were apparently required to take full notes, so that the contents of Chou's speech might be passed down through the various levels of Party organisation for dissemination among the masses.

4. We are sending copies of this letter to the Chanceries at Moscow, Washington, Rangoon and Singapore.

Yours ever,

CHANCERY

ATC

Far Eastern Department,
Foreign Office.

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

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C1022/42

1956

CHINA

FROM

Bangkok,
(cnd)

No. 3

Dated

22 November, 1950

Received in
Registry—

3/12

References to former relevant papers

C1021/44

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completed)

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JLH/1

WNY
15/10/57

References to later relevant papers

-143

Chinese statement of November 1.
Enclosing copy of Peking telegram
to 3 to Bangkok and P.O. telegram
to 625 to Bangkok.

MINUTES

We have not received Bangkok Tel No
604 to Singapore which must have raised
this subject.

Mr. O'Neill's comments are perhaps too
cautious. I think the Chinese approved of
the Hungarian demands for independence &
underestimated the strength of anti-communist
feeling there, with the result that they had
to change their tune abruptly at the
unexpected turn of events. Even now, despite
their apparent solidarity with the Russians,
Chou En-lai is saying a lot about the
"mistake of Great Power Chauvinism" to the
South East Asians; I assume that this
is an effort to convince these countries

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that they are not going to suffer
Hungary's fate.

D. E. Symon

4/12

Nathaniel ~~1/12~~

SEAD

The Chinese support of the Russian actions
4/12 in Hungary is clearly based on self-interest and
their attempts to justify the Russian action by
reference to the need for unity of socialist countries
will probably be seen through by the countries of S.E.
Asia - but let us hope that some shrewd propagandists
from Singapore will assist the process.

R. James 5/12

See now M. O'Neill's dispatch
No. 318 dt - 43.

AMH

7/12

or
10/12

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WITH THE COMPLIMENTS OF
THE CHANCERY
BRITISH EMBASSY
BANGKOK.

C1022/4R

November 27, 1956.

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TELEGRAM~~XXXX~~
Cypher~~XXXX~~
code

en clair

10711/292

From:— Peking

To:— Bangkok

Despatched

Received 0917 24/11

No. 3 of November 24, 1956.

PRIORITY

Addressed to Bangkok tel No.3 November 24 repeated for information to Singapore.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Chinese statement of November 1 insists that the five principles of peaceful co-existence must govern the relationships between socialist countries, which are all independent sovereign states. Some socialist countries had been unable to build socialism in accordance with their historical circumstances and special features because of past mistakes. It was necessary to avoid the mistake of Chauvinism particularly "big nation Chauvinism" which inevitably damaged the common cause of socialist countries.

2. People's Daily editorial of November 3 approved the "correct attitude of the Soviet Government that the interests of unity are higher than anything else.

3. People's Daily editorial of November 5 congratulated the Hungarian people on their victory over counter revolutionaries and accused "certain people" of not appreciating sufficiently the immense significance of Soviet friendship and the internationalist spirit of the Soviet people.

4. Ta Kung Pao of November 6 described Soviet intervention as "a glorious manifestation of proletarian internationalism".

O'NEILL

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TELEGRAM

Cypher code eukhair

10711/294/56

From:— London To:— Bangkok
(Passing No.2 from Peking)

Despatched

Received 0338 26/11

No. 625 of November 24, 1956.

PRIORITY
CONFIDENTIAL

Following received from Peking Begins.

Addressed to Bangkok tel No.2 24th November repeated
for information to Singapore.

Your tel No.604 to Singapore: Chinese attitude to Hungary.

Chinese statement of 1st November can be interpreted as favouring the Hungarian and other satellite independence movements although the terms used are not sufficiently clear to be completely conclusive. Extracts from this and the three later editorials are contained in my immediately following telegram.

2. After the drastic Soviet intervention in Hungary the Chinese Press gave complete support to the Russian action. In the editorials on 3rd November, 5th November and 7th November the People Daily stressed that unity amongst the socialist countries must come above all other considerations. These editorials and the general press coverage have maintained the view that the Soviet intervention in Hungary was absolutely necessary and justified to prevent the uncontrolled inefficient counter revolution and put an end to the white terror.

3. Since 5th November the Chinese Press has repeatedly claimed that the [gp.undec.] Government had the support of increasing numbers of Hungarian people and that the workers were continuing to resume work. All U.N. discussions of Hungary has been dismissed as outrageous interference in Hungary's internal affairs. There has been no mention of the deportations or of the resistance by the Hungarian workers to the Soviet troops.

4. I believe that the Russian action in Hungary has caused the Chinese Government some misgivings especially

/in relation

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in relation to the reactions in Asian countries but they have throughout attempted to justify and defend the Russian actions and I see no reason why this should not be fully exploited.

5. On the question of Burma the Chinese Government maintain that an equitable solution has been reached which satisfies both parties. Unless the Burmese themselves complain about the Chinese aggression over the frontier dispute it might do more harm than good if the others did so but on this H.M. Ambassador in Rangoon is best placed to advise. There is of course nothing in the Chinese Press to support any accusation of Chinese aggression.

SOSFA

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1956

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FAR EASTERN DEPARTMENT

F

C1022/43

CHINA

FROM

Mr. O'Keefe,
Peking
to Mr. L. Lloyd

No. 308 (1030/56)

Dated 23 November, 1956

Received in
Registry— 6/12

Review of the treatment of recent events in Poland and Hungary by the Chinese Press and of the attitude of the Government to these events.
(Copy: N'kov, Moscow, Warsaw, Budapest, Hong Kong, & Taipei)

References to former relevant papers

-/29

MINUTES

Copy sent
7/12/56

I think this might be printed
F.O. & Whitehall.

The Chinese Govt. are leaders in great difficulties about the line they should adopt. Their admissions against greater nation chauvinism were clearly directed against Russia and there seems to be some anti-Russian feeling in the country. It is encouraging but there are signs that information is reaching China through channels other than the official publications and broadcasts.

Poland was better treated than Hungary but this may be because the Soviet Union were particularly sensitive about Hungary and asked the Chinese to

Revised

(Print)

F.O.W.H.

(How disposed of)

(Action completed)

(Index)

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15/10/57

References to later relevant papers

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to live the line. Even so the Chinese press revealed that all was far from well in Hungary.

The considerations and conclusions discussed in paras 13 and 14 of this very interesting despatch seem to be a reasonable estimate of Chinese thinking on this difficult problem. But I am surprised that Mr O'Neill does not make more of the possibility that China is frightened of the explosive suspicions which Russian action in E. Europe must raise in the breasts of her neighbours in SE Asia. He mentions ^{Indonesian} Indonesia but there are others e.g. Burma who also need reassurance about Chinese intentions.

R. H. H. G. 7/12

SEAD 4743/1
FOR 4/1
Nutter Jalt-
10/11

A very interesting assessment. I agree generally with paras 13 & 14

Mr. Ireland to see
on return
13/11

C. J. C.
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CHINA

December 6, 1956

Section 1

FC 1022/43

CHINESE REACTIONS TO EVENTS IN POLAND AND HUNGARY

The Hon. C. D. W. O'Neill to Mr. Selwyn Lloyd. (Received December 6)(No. 318. Confidential) *Peking,*
Sir, *November 23, 1956.*

I propose in this despatch to review the treatment of recent events in Poland and Hungary by the Chinese press and to assess as far as possible the attitude of the Chinese Government to those events. The evidence on which such an assessment can be based is flimsy and any conclusions reached can only be very tentative. Broadly speaking the Chinese Government has followed the Soviet Union loyally on all important aspects of policy in relation to Poland and Hungary, but there have been vague hints that China's leaders may not be completely happy about the situation and there is good reason to believe that the Chinese public—or that part of it which takes any interest in such events—finds developments in Hungary hard to understand. The publication of some items of news has been delayed for several days, other items which one might have expected to be suppressed have in fact been printed promptly. Some of the *People's Daily* editorials on the subject have contained Delphic pronouncements which could be read as criticisms of Soviet policy. I shall try to sort out some of these points in a chronological review of Chinese press coverage of the events.

2. Apart from the initial delay of two or three days—it was not until the 24th of October that the Chinese reader was given any indication that unusual events were occurring—the Polish situation does not seem to have presented any undue difficulty to China. From the 24th to the 29th of October the *People's Daily* published a series of reports about the election of Gomulka, changes in Ministerial appointments, the resolution of the Polish United Workers' Party of the 27th of October and about the overfulfilment of targets by Polish workers. The impression conveyed was of an orderly change, involving a certain reorientation of the Polish economy, which certain Western Powers were attempting to use for their

own dark purposes. On the other hand the *People's Daily* also published on the 27th of October a very full summary of Gomulka's speech of the 20th of October to the Plenary Session of the Central Committee of the United Workers' Party and the full text of his speech of the 24th of October to a mass meeting in Warsaw. The references in these speeches to problems arising from the cult of personality and in particular the reference to the promise extracted from Khrushchev that Russian troops in Poland would go back to their bases must have given the Chinese readers a fairly clear idea of what was occurring in Poland. This was the first but not the only occasion on which the press published more than was necessary or desirable if the sole aim of presentation was to shield and justify Russian actions.

3. After the 29th of October very little appeared in the Chinese press on the subject of Poland until the Polish Government and party delegation went to Moscow. Their visit was accorded prominent treatment and after the publication of the joint Soviet-Polish statement the talks were welcomed as "a vivid example of the proper relations between Socialist countries" in a *People's Daily* editorial of the 21st of November. I am enclosing a translation⁽¹⁾ of this editorial as Annex No. 2 to this despatch and I shall refer to it again later in the context of the Chinese attitude to "Socialist unity."

4. The Chinese press maintained a cautious silence about events in Hungary until the 27th of October, four days after Nagy was appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The *People's Daily* then reported the appointment of Nagy and the election of Kadar as first secretary of the Workers' Party. It also stated that on the 23rd of October a peaceful demonstration of over 100,000 people had been infiltrated by counter-revolutionaries who carried out "anti-Russian incitement." The Hungarian Government had invited the Soviet army to assist in restoring order,

⁽¹⁾ Not printed.

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and with the co-operation of Russian troops Budapest was beginning to return to normal on the 25th of October, although in other parts of Hungary riots were continuing up to the 26th. On the 28th of October the *People's Daily* reported confidently that the Hungarian Government had imposed a time-limit for the surrender of all rebels and that many had laid down their arms on the 26th. On the 29th it was reported that the new Nagy Government had assumed its duties, that the rebels had asked for talks, a cease-fire had been arranged and peaceful life was being restored.

5. This confident tone in relation to events in Hungary was maintained for the next three days as the new Nagy Government was formed and the Soviet forces began to withdraw from Budapest. Nagy's broadcast of the 30th of October announcing the re-establishment of coalition Government was reported briefly and without comment. On the 2nd of November the *People's Daily* stated however that the Hungarian situation was still confused and that the Workers' Party was beginning a complete reorganisation. On the 3rd of November the press suddenly announced that Nagy had turned to the side of counter-revolution by abrogating the Warsaw Pact and betraying Hungarian national interests. It claimed that terrorists were slaughtering revolutionary personnel in Budapest. A *People's Daily* editorial of the 4th called on all Hungarian patriots to fight against the plot to restore Fascism, and various news items declared that the revolutionary forces were waging a resolute struggle, that agents and rebels were pouring into Hungary from the West and that the reactionaries were in touch with the Western Powers.

6. On the 5th of November the *People's Daily* announced in a banner headline that the counter-revolution had been shattered with the aid of the Soviet army. A nauseating editorial congratulated the Hungarian people on their victory, and on the following day the *Ta Kung Pao* described Soviet assistance in shattering the intrigues of the counter-revolutionaries as "a glorious manifestation of proletarian internationalism." At the same time a flow of smaller news items began to appear along the following lines: the terrible atrocities committed by the reactionaries (with photographs); calls from various quarters to the Hungarian people to unite around their new Government; continuing

protests at the discussion of Hungary in the United Nations; congratulations to the Hungarian people from various Communist Parties; aid pouring into Hungary from fraternal Socialist countries; accusations of Western complicity, with the sinister figure of Allen Dulles well to the foreground; above all, claims that work was being resumed and life returning to normal. As to this last item, on almost every day from the 8th to the 23rd of November the *People's Daily* has carried a news item to the effect that order is being restored and that workers are going back to their places of work. The absurdity of these continuing claims must be apparent to all but the most unintelligent readers.

7. The only specific action which the Chinese Government has taken was the sending of a telegram of congratulations from Chou En-lai to the new Government on the 6th of November. The telegram included the promise of 30 million roubles in goods and cash and it has since been reported that the goods are already being sent. In act therefore as well as in word the Chinese Government has given unmistakable support to the new Hungarian Government and to the actions of the Soviet Union. There are however two points about Chinese press coverage of Hungary which rather conflict with this general picture. First, the *People's Daily* printed the section of the statement issued by the Prime Ministers of the four Colombo Powers after their meeting on the 14th of November calling for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary and advocating the right of the Hungarian people to choose their own form of Government without any kind of foreign interference. A subsequent speech by Mr. Nehru including passages in the same sense was also printed in the Chinese press. Second, the Chinese press has avoided any mention of the speech in which Tito accused "hardened Stalinists" in the Soviet Union of responsibility for events in Hungary and has of course not referred to the *Pravda* article which attacked Tito in reply. The open admission that the four Colombo Powers, whose prestige in China has been deliberately boosted to a high level over the last year, had adopted an anti-Soviet stand over Hungary, and the failure to give prompt support to the Soviet Union in the renewed quarrel with Tito, are indications that the Chinese leaders are confronted by difficult problems and are not simply following every Soviet lead automatically.

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8. The main problem confronting the Chinese Government and Communist Party is the attitude they are to take on the question of relations between the Soviet Union and the other Communist *bloc* countries. It has been suggested in some Western newspapers that the Chinese leaders encouraged European satellite leaders to think about the possibility of greater independence when they were in Peking in September for the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. I have no direct evidence that this was so (the question was referred to in my telegram No. 647 of the 2nd of November), but I think it quite possible that the continual references Chinese leaders have been making recently to the dangers of "Great Nation Chauvinism" have been directed at least partially at the Soviet Union. Chou En-lai started this new fashion at a large reception on the eve of the 1st of October celebrations when Peking was full of delegations from other Communist Parties. The Chinese Government statement of the 1st of November, of which I am enclosing a translation⁽¹⁾ as Annex No. 1 to this despatch, also warns against chauvinism. Mao Tse-tung wrote an article, published on the 11th of November, about Sun Yat-sen and he too called for the eradication of "Great Nation Chauvinism." It is difficult to take all this simply as Chinese self-criticism and I suspect that all these references may have been in part designed to be interpreted in other Communist countries as unfavourable allusions to certain Russian policies.

9. The Chinese Government statement of the 1st of November which endorsed the Soviet declaration of the 30th of October gave a clear statement of Chinese opposition to Great Nation Chauvinism and support for equality between Socialist countries. Apart from hinting that Russian errors were responsible for the estrangement of Yugoslavia in 1948-49 and for the recent events in Poland the Chinese statement also supports the view that Socialist countries should be allowed to build Socialism according to their historical circumstances and special features. The statement gave complete approval to what the Chinese Government may at the moment have believed Russian policy to be—namely the abandonment of chauvinistic practices and of direct control of satellite affairs, implicitly promised in the Soviet announcement of the 30th of October. Thus as soon as the Russians appeared to

be ready to tolerate "centrifugal" tendencies the Chinese Government were quick to approve.

10. Faced however with the fact that the "Socialist camp" appeared to be in danger of disruption and also with the fact of naked Russian intervention in Hungary the Chinese Government swung round behind the new Soviet policy and attacked centrifugal tendencies. Three *People's Daily* editorials rammed home the need for unity between Socialist countries, on the 3rd, 5th and 7th of November. The main theme was that unity must come above all other considerations: "The correct attitude of the Soviet Union that the interests of unity are higher than anything else should be the common attitude of all Socialist countries when they consider the question of their mutual relations." The editorial of the 5th of November warned against the deviation of nationalism and accused "certain people" of not appreciating sufficiently the immense significance of Soviet friendship, the internationalist spirit of the Soviet people, the necessity for complete unity amongst the Socialist nations and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

11. The editorial in the *People's Daily* of the 21st of November on the Soviet-Polish talks (enclosed as Annex No. 2)⁽¹⁾ clarifies the Chinese stand on this issue. The main thing is for big nations (and here the Soviet Union is unmistakably indicated as the chief offender) to avoid Great Nation Chauvinism, and it is also necessary for smaller nations to avoid the mistake of nationalism. Then there will be unity on the basis of equality. The same editorial discusses the Hungarian situation and includes the rather remarkable sentence: "The Hungarian people can see (from the outcome of the Soviet-Polish talks) that Soviet policy towards the People's Democracies is truly one of equality, friendship and mutual assistance, not conquest, aggression and plunder, and that the outpourings of the imperialist propaganda machine are nothing but lies and slanders." It is I think curious that the Chinese should admit that the Hungarian people require some evidence of Soviet good intentions to be able to distinguish Soviet "friendship" from conquest, aggression and plunder. The editorial goes on to appeal: "Let us not take rash or violent action that leaves no leeway and shows no regard for consequences, that

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impairs the unity of international Socialism." It is tempting to connect this appeal with either Russian deportations of Hungarians or Russian denunciations of Tito, although there is as yet no clear evidence to show that it is linked with either.

12. In connection with this editorial it is interesting to note the considerable efforts the Chinese authorities have been making in their reporting and comments about the Hungarian incidents to refute certain allegations about Russian policy. An exceptionally long *People's Daily* editorial of the 14th of November attacked what was called "the clamour of the Western world," denied that the Soviet Union was violating its own declaration of the 30th of October and produced some rather devious justifications of Russian actions. I should not myself have expected the Chinese authorities to do this since such arguments have to reveal, in order to refute it, a good deal of the valid criticism which can be aimed at the Soviet Union. Their publication only makes sense on the assumption that there is a large body of people in China who have sources of information other than the Government-controlled press and radio or native commonsense going beyond what these official sources reveal, and who have as a result formed a hostile impression which the Government must counter. I believe it to be a fact that many common people in China—certainly in Peking—dislike the Russians a good deal; and this dislike would certainly help the spread of such an impression. I was interested to observe, when I attended the commemoration meeting on the 11th of November in Peking for the 90th birthday of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, that approving references by the speakers to Soviet action in Hungary were received in complete silence whereas criticism of Anglo-French action in Egypt drew ready applause.

13. While China's overriding consideration in foreign policy is the maintenance of the Soviet alliance and while there is no doubt that China will as a result support

any major Soviet initiative in foreign affairs, it is also true that China is very jealous of her independence. Any tendency towards less direct control of satellite affairs by Moscow is to some extent in China's interest since it lessens the danger of an attempt by Moscow to assert that the "leader of the Socialist camp" has the right to exercise such control over all the members of the camp. Therefore although China's security and economic development are both dependent on the Soviet alliance and to some extent on the maintenance of solidarity in the Communist bloc, there is good reason to suppose that the Chinese leaders would breathe more freely if there were no question of direct Soviet domination over other Communist countries.

14. The other aspect of recent events which must be causing China grave concern is the damage being done to relations with the "neutral" countries as they are generally described in the Chinese press. The new Russian attack on Tito must be particularly embarrassing as the Chinese Government statement of the 1st of November singled out the 1948 break with Yugoslavia as evidence of past mistakes unlikely to recur after the 30th of October declaration of Soviet policy. The Chinese Government must also deplore the effect of Soviet actions on Indian and Indonesian opinion which China has been cultivating assiduously over the last year. China's prestige is of course less tarnished than that of the Soviet Union but China must be well aware of the danger that her policy of peaceful penetration will be damaged by association when her senior partner resorts to a policy of massacre and deportation.

15. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow, Warsaw and Budapest, the Governor of Hong Kong and the Commissioner-General for Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in South-East Asia in Singapore.

I have, &c.

C. O'NEILL.

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CONFIDENTIAL

No. 318 ✓

(1030/56)

BRITISH EMBASSY,

PEKING.

November 23, 1956.

FC 1022/43

Sir,

I propose in this despatch to review the treatment of recent events in Poland and Hungary by the Chinese press and to assess as far as possible the attitude of the Chinese Government to those events. The evidence on which such an assessment can be based is flimsy and any conclusions reached can only be very tentative. Broadly speaking the Chinese Government has followed the Soviet Union loyally on all important aspects of policy in relation to Poland and Hungary, but there have been vague hints that China's leaders may not be completely happy about the situation and there is good reason to believe that the Chinese public - or that part of it which takes any interest in such events - finds developments in Hungary hard to understand. The publication of some items of news has been delayed for several days, other items which one might have expected to be suppressed have in fact been printed promptly. Some of the "People's Daily" editorials on the subject have contained Delphic pronouncements which could be read as criticisms of Soviet policy. I shall try to sort out some of these points in a chronological review of Chinese press coverage of the events.

2. Apart from the initial delay of two or three days - it was not until the 24th of October that the Chinese reader was given any indication that unusual events were occurring - the Polish situation does not seem to have presented any undue difficulty to China. From the 24th to the 29th of October the People's Daily published a series of reports about the election of Gomulka, changes in ministerial appointments, the resolution of the Polish United Workers' Party

The Right Honourable Selwyn Lloyd, C.B.E., M.P.,
etc. etc. etc.
Foreign Office.

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Party of the 27th of October and about the overfulfilment of targets by Polish workers. The impression conveyed was of an orderly change, involving a certain re-orientation of the Polish economy, which certain Western powers were attempting to use for their own dark purposes. On the other hand the "People's Daily" also published on the 27th of October a very full summary of Gomulka's speech of the 20th of October to the plenary session of the central committee of the United Workers' Party and the full text of his speech of the 24th of October to a mass meeting in Warsaw. The references in these speeches to problems arising from the cult of personality and in particular the reference to the promise extracted from Khrushchev that Russian troops in Poland would go back to their bases must have given the Chinese readers a fairly clear idea of what was occurring in Poland. This was the first but not the only occasion on which the press published more than was necessary or desirable if the sole aim of presentation was to shield and justify Russian actions.

3. After the 29th of October very little appeared in the Chinese press on the subject of Poland until the Polish Government and Party delegation went to Moscow. Their visit was accorded prominent treatment and after the publication of the joint Soviet-Polish statement the talks were welcomed as "a vivid example of the proper relations between socialist countries" in a "People's Daily" editorial of the 21st of November. I am enclosing a translation of this editorial as Annex No. 2 to this despatch and I shall refer to it again later in the context of the Chinese attitude to "socialist unity".

4. The Chinese press maintained a cautious silence about events in Hungary until the 27th of October, four days after Nagy was appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers. The "People's Daily" then reported the appointment of Nagy and the election of Kadar as First Secretary of the Workers' Party. It also stated that on the 23rd of October a peaceful demonstration of over 100,000 people had been infiltrated by counter-revolutionaries who carried out "anti-Russian incitement". The Hungarian Government had invited the Soviet army to assist in restoring order, and with the co-operation of Russian troops Budapest was beginning to return to normal on the 25th of October, although in other parts of Hungary riots were continuing up to the 26th. On the 28th of October the "People's Daily" reported confidently that the Hungarian Government had

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imposed a time-limit for the surrender of all rebels and that many had laid down their arms on the 26th. On the 29th it was reported that the new Nagy Government had assumed its duties, that the rebels had asked for talks, a cease-fire had been arranged and peaceful life was being restored.

5. This confident tone in relation to events in Hungary was maintained for the next three days as the new Nagy Government was formed and the Soviet forces began to withdraw from Budapest. Nagy's broadcast of the 30th of October announcing the re-establishment of coalition government was reported briefly and without comment. On the 2nd of November the "People's Daily" stated however that the Hungarian situation was still confused and that the Workers' Party was beginning a complete reorganisation. On the 3rd of November the press suddenly announced that Nagy had turned to the side of counter-revolution by abrogating the Warsaw Pact and betraying Hungarian national interests. It claimed that terrorists were slaughtering revolutionary personnel in Budapest. A "People's Daily" editorial of the 4th called on all Hungarian patriots to fight against the plot to restore fascism, and various news items declared that the revolutionary forces were waging a resolute struggle, that agents and rebels were pouring into Hungary from the West and that the reactionaries were in touch with the Western powers.

6. On the 5th of November the "People's Daily" announced in a banner headline that the counter-revolution had been shattered with the aid of the Soviet Army. Amuseating editorial congratulated the Hungarian people on their victory, and on the following day the Ta Kung Pao described Soviet assistance in shattering the intrigues of the counter-revolutionaries as "a glorious manifestation of proletarian internationalism". At the same time a flow of smaller news items began to appear along the following lines: the terrible atrocities committed by the reactionaries (with photographs); calls from various quarters to the Hungarian people to unite around their new Government; continuing protests at the discussion of Hungary in the United Nations; congratulations to the Hungarian people from various Communist Parties; aid pouring into Hungary from fraternal socialist countries; accusations of Western complicity, with the sinister figure of Allen Dulles well to the foreground; above all, claims that work was being resumed and life returning to normal. As to this last item,

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on almost every day from the 8th to the 23rd of November the People's Daily has carried a news item to the effect that order is being restored and that workers are going back to their places of work. The absurdity of these continuing claims must be apparent to all but the most unintelligent readers.

7. The only specific action which the Chinese Government has taken was the sending of a telegram of congratulations from Chou En-lai to the new Government on the 6th of November. The telegram included the promise of 30 million roubles in goods and cash and it has since been reported that the goods are already being sent. In act therefore as well as in word the Chinese Government has given unmistakable support to the new Hungarian Government and to the actions of the Soviet Union. There are however two points about Chinese press coverage of Hungary which rather conflict with this general picture. First, the "People's Daily" printed the section of the statement issued by the Prime Ministers of the four Colombo Powers after their meeting on the 14th of November, calling for the immediate withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary and advocating the right of the Hungarian people to choose their own form of Government without any kind of foreign interference. A subsequent speech by Mr. Nehru including passages in the same sense was also printed in the Chinese press. Second, the Chinese press has avoided any mention of the speech in which Tito accused "hardened Stalinists" in the Soviet Union of responsibility for events in Hungary and has of course not referred to the Pravda article which attacked Tito in reply. The open admission that the four Colombo Powers, whose prestige in China has been deliberately boosted to a high level over the last year, had adopted an anti-Soviet stand over Hungary, and the failure to give prompt support to the Soviet Union in the renewed quarrel with Tito, are indications that the Chinese leaders are confronted by difficult problems and are not simply following every Soviet lead automatically.

8. The main problem confronting the Chinese Government and Communist Party is the attitude they are to take on the question of relations between the Soviet Union and the other Communist bloc countries. It has been suggested in some Western newspapers that the Chinese leaders encouraged European satellite leaders to think about the possibility of great independence when they were in Peking in September for the 8th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party. I

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have no direct evidence that this was so (the question was referred to in my telegram No. 647 of the 2nd of November), but I think it quite possible that the continual references Chinese leaders have been making recently to the dangers of "Great Nation Chauvinism" have been directed at least partially at the Soviet Union. Chou En-lai started this new fashion at a large reception on the eve of the 1st of October celebrations when Peking was full of delegations from other Communist Parties. The Chinese Government statement of the 1st of November, of which I am enclosing a translation as Annex No. 1 to this despatch, also warns against chauvinism. Mao Tse-tung wrote an article, published on the 11th of November, about Sun Yat-sen and he too called for the eradication of "Great Nation Chauvinism". It is difficult to take all this simply as Chinese self-criticism and I suspect that all these references may have been in part designed to be interpreted in other Communist countries as unfavourable allusions to certain Russian policies.

9. The Chinese Government statement of the 1st of November which endorsed the Soviet Declaration of the 30th of October gave a clear statement of Chinese opposition to Great Nation Chauvinism and support for equality between socialist countries. Apart from hinting that Russian errors were responsible for the estrangement of Yugoslavia in 1948-1949 and for the recent events in Poland the Chinese statement also supports the view that socialist countries should be allowed to build socialism according to their historical circumstances and special features. The statement gave complete approval to what the Chinese Government may at the moment have believed Russian policy to be - namely the abandonment of chauvinistic practices and of direct control of satellite affairs, implicitly promised in the Soviet announcement of the 30th of October. ^{was} Then as soon as the Russians appeared to be ready to tolerate "centrifugal" tendencies the Chinese Government were quick to approve.

10. Faced however with the fact that the "socialist camp" appeared to be in danger of disruption and also with the fact of naked Russian intervention in Hungary the Chinese Government swung round behind the new Soviet policy and attacked centrifugal tendencies. Three "People's Daily" editorials rammed home the need for unity between socialist countries, on the 3rd, 5th and 7th of November. The main theme was that unity must come above all other

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considerations: "The correct attitude of the Soviet Union that the interests of unity are higher than anything else should be the common attitude of all socialist countries when they consider the question of their mutual relations." The editorial of the 5th of November warned against the deviation of nationalism and accused "certain people" of not appreciating sufficiently the immense significance of Soviet friendship, the internationalist spirit of the Soviet people, the necessity for complete unity amongst the socialist nations and the principles of proletarian internationalism.

11. The editorial in the People's Daily of the 21st of November on the Soviet-Polish talks (enclosed as Annex No. 2) clarifies the Chinese stand on this issue. The main thing is for big nations (and here the Soviet Union is unmistakably indicated as the chief offender) to avoid great nation chauvinism, and it is also necessary for smaller nations to avoid the mistake of nationalism. Then there will be unity on the basis of equality. The same editorial discusses the Hungarian situation and includes the rather remarkable sentence: "The Hungarian people can see (from the outcome of the Soviet-Polish talks) that Soviet policy towards the People's Democracies is truly one of equality, friendship and mutual assistance, not conquest, aggression and plunder, and that the outpourings of the imperialist propaganda machine are nothing but lies and slanders." It is I think curious that the Chinese should admit that the Hungarian people require some evidence of Soviet good intentions to be able to distinguish Soviet "friendship" from conquest, aggression and plunder. The editorial goes on to appeal: "Let us not take rash or violent action that leaves no leeway and shows no regard for consequences, that impairs the unity of international socialism." It is tempting to connect this appeal with either Russian deportations of Hungarians or Russian denunciations of Tito, although there is as yet no clear evidence to show that it is linked with either.

12. In connexion with this editorial it is interesting to note the considerable efforts the Chinese authorities have been making in their reporting and comments about the Hungarian incidents to refute certain allegations about Russian policy. An exceptionally long "People's Daily" editorial of the 14th of November attacked what was called "the clamour of the Western world", denied that the Soviet Union was violating its own Declaration of the 30th of October

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and produced some rather devious justifications of Russian actions. I should not myself have expected the Chinese authorities to do this since such arguments have to reveal, in order to refute it, a good deal of the valid criticism which can be aimed at the Soviet Union. Their publication only makes sense on the assumption that there is a large body of people in China who have sources of information other than the Government controlled press and radio, or native common sense going beyond what these official sources reveal, and who have as a result formed a hostile impression which the Government must counter. I believe it to be a fact that many common people in China - certainly in Peking - dislike the Russians a good deal; and this dislike would certainly help the spread of such an impression. I was interested to observe, when I attended the commemoration meeting on the 11th of November in Peking for the 90th birthday of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, that approving references by the speakers to Soviet action in Hungary were received in complete silence whereas criticism of Anglo-French action in Egypt drew ready applause.

13. While China's overriding consideration in foreign policy is the maintenance of the Soviet alliance and while there is no doubt that China will as a result support any major Soviet initiative in foreign affairs, it is also true that China is very jealous of her independence. Any tendency towards less direct control of satellite affairs by Moscow is to some extent in China's interest since it lessens the danger of an attempt by Moscow to assert that the "leader of the Socialist Camp" has the right to exercise such control over all the members of the camp. Therefore although China's security and economic development are both dependent on the Soviet alliance and to some extent on the maintenance of solidarity in the Communist bloc, there is good reason to suppose that the Chinese leaders would breathe more freely if there were no question of direct Soviet domination over other Communist countries.

14. The other aspect of recent events which must be causing China grave concern is the damage being done to relations with the "neutral" countries as they are generally described in the Chinese press. The new Russian attack on Tito must be particularly embarrassing as the Chinese Government statement of the 1st of November singled out the 1948 break with Yugoslavia as evidence of past mistakes unlikely to recur after the 30th of October Declaration of Soviet policy. The

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Chinese Government must also deplore the effect of Soviet actions on Indian and Indonesian opinion which China has been cultivating assiduously over the last year. China's prestige is of course less tarnished than that of the Soviet Union but China must be well aware of the danger that her policy of peaceful penetration will be damaged by association when her senior partner resorts to a policy of massacre and deportation.

15. I am sending copies of this despatch to Her Majesty's Ambassadors at Washington, Moscow, Warsaw and Budapest, the Governor of Hong Kong and the Commissioner-General for Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in South-East Asia in Singapore.

I have the honour to be,
With the highest respect, Sir,
Your obedient Servant,

C. P. R.

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110115 Forests Investigated

Peking, Nov. 1.—Rich reserves of anise and cinnamon trees have been found in Kwangsi Province. This was announced by the Ministry of Forestry today.

Other finds include golden larch in Fukien Province and redwoods in Kwangtung Province.

Information on forests covering an area of 60 million hectares has been obtained following a nation-wide survey of forests in the past few years.

The results of the survey show that China's Northeast, Northwest and Southwest are rich in fir, spruce and pine reserves. Tung oil trees for industrial oil and camellia for edible oil have been found in large amounts in the Central-South and Southwest.

Data concerning the location of forests, acreage, the kinds of trees, and the conditions of local climate, geology and soil have been made in the surveyed forest areas.

Aerial survey of forests is being popularised.

To strengthen the protection of the existing forests, the Ministry of Forestry has set up 904 centres in forests to take charge of replenishing denuded land, forest fire prevention and other forest protection work end item

110116 Italian Socialist Party Agricultural Mission Arrives

Peking, Nov. 1—An eight-member agricultural mission of the Italian Socialist Party arrived here yesterday at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.

The visitors were met at the airport by Peng Chen, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Secretariat, and Liu Ning-yi, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, and others.

Peng Chen gave a dinner yesterday evening in honour of the Italian guests.

Members of the mission are: Luigi Locorotolo, Gino Bertoldi, and Vincenzo Milillo, members of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Italy, and Renato Tramontani, Giuseppe Colia, Angelo Ganazzoli, Marino Papucci and Giorgio Vegetti end item

110117 Local Elections Completed in Shanghai

Shanghai, Nov. 1 — Election of deputies to the second people's district and hsiang congresses in Shanghai had been completed. (A hsiang is an administrative unit comprising several villages—Editor). Three million four hundred and thirty thousand electors, or more than 98% of the voters of the whole city, went to the polls.

An election of people's deputies takes place every two years in municipalities directly under the central administration. More than 8,000 deputies were elected in Shanghai this time. Many are outstanding people who emerged during the high tide of socialist transformation last winter and this spring. The number of industrialists and businessmen elected this time is greater than in the first election in 1953.

Prior to the elections the voters discussed the candidates jointly nominated by the Communist and other democratic parties and people's organisations. Many voters visited the candidates while voters in

some electoral districts had an exchange of votes with them. More than 70 nominees were not approved and the district election committees accepted other nominations by the voters in their stead.

Among those who voted were more than 10,000 former landlords who have been working for their living for the past few years end item

110118 Indonesian Communist Leader Protests at Kidnapping of Algerian Leaders

Djakarta, Nov. 1 — The Indonesian Communist Party together with the peace-loving people of Indonesia strongly protested against the kidnapping of the five Algerian leaders by the French Government, said D. N. Aidit, Secretary General of the Indonesian Communist Party, in a cable to the French Government. According to an Antara report yesterday, he demanded that the French Government immediately release these leaders of the Algerian nationalist movement.

The Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party has cabled the Secretary General of the United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld, urging him to exert his influence upon the French Government to secure the release of the Algerian leaders. It also appealed to the premiers of Sudan and Morocco for their assistance and item

110119 Chou En-lai and U Nu Continue Talks

Peking, Nov. 1.—Premier Chou En-lai and U Nu, Chairman of the Burmese Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, continued their talks this afternoon end item

110120 Indian Military Mission on Way Home

Wuhan, Nov. 1.—The Indian Goodwill Military Mission, headed by General J.N. Chaudhuri, arrived in Wuhan by special plane this morning from Peking on the way home. They were entertained at a luncheon given by Lieutenant General Kung Ching-teh, commanding officer of the People's Liberation Army units in Wuhan, at the airport. The guests visited the Yangtze River Bridge and left for Canton at 2:20 in the afternoon.

The Mission left Peking at eight o'clock this morning. They were accompanied to Canton by Colonel Kan Mai, Military Attache of the Chinese Embassy in India, and Colonel Wang Chin-wu of the Foreign Affairs Office of the Defense Ministry. They were seen off in Peking by Senior General Chen Keng, Indian Ambassador R.K. Nehru and military attaches of the various foreign embassies and legations end item

110121 New Scientific Institutes to Be Set Up.

Peking, Nov. 1—Four institutes of research in electronics, automation, semi-conductor and technique in computation are being set up by the Chinese Academy of Sciences. Commissions to prepare the establishment of these organisations have been appointed.

The institute of computation technique, whose preparation is being directed by the mathematician Hua Loo-Keng, will mainly study the designing,

THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES		1	2
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manufacture and use of electronic computers. A team headed by the scientist Min Nai-ta is now carrying out a two-month survey in the Soviet Union, to draw on that country's experience in conducting training classes in computation technique and promoting research in this branch of knowledge. Scientists will soon be sent to the Soviet Union for practical work in the installing and manufacture of electronic computers and related studies.

The institute of electronics will concern itself chiefly in the study of ultra short waves, ultra short-wave electronic tubes and ultra-sonics.

The preparatory commission for the institute of automation is under the charge of Chien Wei-chang and includes the scientists Lu Yuan-chiu, Tu Shan-cheng and Shu Sung-kuei who recently returned from the United States. The institute is expected to be established early next year.

The semi-conductor research section of the Chinese Academy of Sciences is being enlarged and will concentrate its activity on the manufacture of semi-conductor equipment. It is scheduled to be expanded into an institute in the next two years and item

110122 Chinese Government Issues Statement on Soviet Declaration

Peking, Nov. 1—The Government of the People's Republic of China today issued the following statement on the Declaration issued by the Government of the Soviet Union on October 30, 1956:

The Government of the Soviet Union on October 30, 1956 issued a declaration on the foundations of the development and further strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The Government of the People's Republic of China considers this declaration of the Government of the Soviet Union to be correct. This declaration is of great importance in correcting errors in mutual relations between the socialist countries and in strengthening unity among them.

The People's Republic of China maintains that the five principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-intervention in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful co-existence should be the principles governing the establishment and development of mutual relations among the nations of the world. The socialist countries are all independent, sovereign states. At the same time they are united by the common ideal of socialism and the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Consequently, mutual relations between socialist countries all the more so should be established on the basis of these five principles. Only in this way are the socialist countries able to achieve genuine fraternal friendship and solidarity and, through mutual assistance and cooperation, their desire for a mutual economic upsurge.

As the declaration of the Soviet Government pointed out, the mutual relations between the socialist countries are not without mistakes. These mistakes resulted in estrangement and misunderstandings between certain socialist countries. Some of these countries have been unable to build socialism better in accordance with their historical circumstances and special features because of these mistakes. As a result of these estrangement and misunderstandings, a tense situation has

sometimes occurred which otherwise would not have occurred. The handling of the 1948-1949 Yugoslav situation and the recent happenings in Poland are enough to illustrate this. Following the Soviet-Yugoslav joint declaration issued in June 1955, the Soviet Government has again taken note of this problem and in its Declaration of October 30, 1956, indicated its willingness to solve various problems in mutual relations on the basis of the principles of full equality, respect for territorial integrity, national independence and sovereignty, and non-intervention in each other's internal affairs and by friendly negotiations with other socialist countries. This important step is clearly of value in eliminating estrangement and misunderstandings among the socialist countries. It will help increase their friendship and cooperation.

The Government of the People's Republic of China notes that the people of Poland and Hungary in the recent happenings have raised demands that democracy, independence, and equality be strengthened and the material well-being of the people be raised on the basis of developing production. These demands are completely proper. Correct satisfaction of these demands is not only helpful to consolidation of the people's democratic system in these countries but also favourable to the unity among the socialist countries. We note with satisfaction that the people of Poland and their leaders have taken notice of the activities and danger of reactionary elements who attempt to undermine the people's democratic system and unity among socialist countries. We consider it absolutely necessary to take note of this and to differentiate between the just demands of the broadest mass of the people and the conspiratorial activities of an extremely small number of reactionary elements. The question of uniting the broadest mass of the people in the struggle against an extremely small number of reactionary elements is not only a question for an individual socialist country, but one deserving attention by many socialist countries, including our country.

Because of the unanimity of ideology and aim of struggle, it often happens that certain personnel of socialist countries neglect the principle of equality among nations in their mutual relations. Such mistake, by nature, is the error of bourgeois chauvinism. Such a mistake, particularly the mistake of chauvinism by a big country, inevitably results in serious damage to the solidarity and common cause of the socialist countries. For this reason, leading members and personnel of our Government and the people of the entire country, must at all times be vigilant to prevent the error of big nation chauvinism in relations with socialist countries and others. We should at all times carry out education among our personnel and the people of the entire country resolutely to oppose big nation chauvinism. If such an error is committed it should be corrected promptly. This is the duty to which we should pay the utmost attention in order to strive for peaceful coexistence with all nations and to promote the cause of world peace and item

110123 Chou En-lai Receives Egyptian Ambassador

Peking, Nov. 1 — Premier Chou En-lai received the Egyptian Ambassador to China, Hassan Ragab, today and handed him the statement of the Chinese

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FO 371 / 120880

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including cabinet ministers, members of Parliament and the Constituent Assembly. Local commanders at Pontianak and Balikpapan had also received the same order from Abimaju. But Lieutenant-Colonel Hasan Basri refused to comply with the order. He and other officers of this regiment all supported the measures taken by the Army Chief of Staff, Major-General Nasution. Lieutenant-Colonel Hasan Basri said that he would only obey orders from the Army Headquarters in Djakarta. He had ordered his troops to be prepared to meet any retaliatory action from Abimaju.

The Cabinet is to discuss the army situation at a meeting this evening. The question will also be discussed by Premier Ali Sastroamidjojo together with the defence committee of Parliament next Thursday.

Antara reported today that Major-General Nasution has summoned Colonel Simbolon, Commander of the first military district, to come to Djakarta to discuss the present situation in the army and the handing over of the command of the first military district.

It was previously reported that Simbolon was to be replaced by the former Deputy Army Chief of Staff Lubis. In view of the situation in the army, Lubis' appointment has been cancelled and the command of the first military district would be taken by other officers on a temporary basis.

The press here reported that Simbolon sent two messages to Army Chief of Staff Nasution opposing the recent disciplinary actions taken against the three insubordinate colonels end item

112034 Chinese Ambassador in Hanoi Gives Reception for Chou En-lai

Hanoi, Nov. 20 — Premier Chou En-lai said this evening that China would always abide by the five principles and oppose great-nation chauvinism. Just as Chairman Mao Tse-tung had said, China in its international relations "should determinedly, thoroughly eradicate great-nation chauvinism, lock, stock and barrel," he emphasised.

Chou En-lai made this statement at a reception given for him by Lo Kuei-po, Chinese Ambassador to Vietnam.

President Ho Chi Minh attended the reception. Among the more than 350 guests present were Pham Van Dong, Premier; Phan Ke Toai and Vo Nguyen Giap, Vice Premiers; Ton Duc Thang, Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National Assembly; Truong Chinh, member of the Political Bureau of the Vietnam Lao Dong Party; ministers, representatives of various democratic parties, people's organisations and overseas Chinese as well as members of the diplomatic corps.

Chou En-lai thanked the Government and people of Vietnam for their warm welcome. He said that China would maintain its friendly relations not only with Vietnam but with all countries. The five principles of peaceful co-existence which were adopted by the Indian and Chinese government two years ago have become the standard rules of co-existence for all countries including the Vietnam Democratic Republic. All the countries of the world should abide by the five principles. Socialist countries, too, should observe the five principles in their relations.

Chou En-lai laid stress on opposition to chauvinism, especially great-nation chauvinism. He said

that being a big country, China should more resolutely oppose great-nation chauvinism.

He pointed out that representatives present at the reception came not only from Vietnam and China but also from various friendly countries. "I guarantee that China will always abide by the five principles and resolutely oppose great-nation chauvinism. In this way, China will work to strengthen the solidarity between all countries."

President Ho Chi Minh proposed toasts to the friendship between Vietnam and China and to the five principles.

The two-hour long reception proceeded in a cordial atmosphere of friendship and harmony end item

112035 Chinese Acrobats Perform at The Hague

Prague, Nov. 20 — The Chinese acrobatic troupe now in the Netherlands gave a performance at The Hague yesterday, according to a report from that city.

Earlier, the troupe gave a performance to 1,000 people in Amsterdam on November 17.

The group arrived in the Netherlands on November 14 and after concluding its performances there will proceed to Belgium end item

112036 Nehru Speaks at Parliament

New Delhi, Nov. 20 — Prime Minister Nehru yesterday warned that if the Anglo-French and Israeli forces of aggression did not withdraw from Egypt, "there is likely to be resumption of hostilities which I think will be on a bigger scale than earlier." He gave the warning in a speech opening a two-day debate on foreign affairs in the House of the People.

He reiterated the conditions on which Indian forces were sent to Egypt, that the forces "were not to be considered as continuing the activities of the Anglo-French forces."

Nehru said, "I repeat this because unfortunately statements are sometimes made about this U.N. international force which are not in consonance with the U.N. decision or, I believe, with the agreements arrived at by the U.N. Secretary General with the Egyptian government."

"We are not prepared to agree to our force or any force remaining there indefinitely," he stated.

Prime Minister Nehru devoted much of his lengthy speech to the situation in Hungary. He held that "foreign forces should be removed both from Egypt and Hungary — although the two cases are not parallel, the facts are different."

He suggested that "observers, preferably sent by the United Nations" should go to Hungary "to look at things there."

Speaking first in the debate, A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist Party in the House, supported the government's stand on Egypt and demanded immediate severance of India's connection with the British Commonwealth.

He also supported the government's stand in the United Nations on the issue of Hungary, saying that "an election under U.N. auspices constitutes a violation of the sovereignty of any country." The logic might also be applied in relation to Kashmir by interested parties, he warned.

Asoka Mehta, leader of the Praja Socialist Party, and some right-wing Parliament members showed greater interest in Hungary than in the

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Anglo-French aggression on Egypt. They virulently attacked the Soviet Union. The foreign policy of the Indian Prime Minister had been somewhat confusing recently, "but now I am happy that the Prime Minister had corrected the focus", Mehta said.

According to today's Hindusthan Times, observers here noted that Nehru's clarifications with regard to Hungary would dispel misunderstandings in the United States.

The Times of India wrote that Nehru's speech "should clear the atmosphere for his talks with President Eisenhower as India's earlier equivocal stand on the issue had created very considerable adverse reaction in the United States."

Commenting on Nehru's speech, the Hindusthan Standard correspondent said that Hungary rather than Suez was the topic mainly discussed yesterday and this shift of emphasis was due to the Prime Minister's own elaborate treatment of the Hungarian issue in his speech and item

112037 Korean-Chinese Side Hands Over Wrecked Warplane to American Side

Pyongyang, Nov. 20—The Korean-Chinese side today turned over to the American side the wreckage of a U.S. P-51 military plane shot down over the air of the Korean-Chinese side on November 7 together with the remains of its pilot. A Korean Central News Agency report from Kaesong stated that the personnel of the Korean-Chinese side first transferred the corpse of the American pilot as well as the pistol and other articles he carried. The American side admitted that this was the corpse of the U.S. military pilot.

Then the wreckage of the U.S. P-51 plane was handed over to the American side, who had said previously that this plane was merely an unarmed training plane. However, this plane was armed with six 12.7 mm. machine-guns. Parachutes in the plane also handed over to the American side. The Secretary of the American side signed a receipt for the things turned over.

Present at the handing over were personnel of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission and pressmen and item

112038 People's Daily Editorial on Soviet-Polish Talks

Peking, Nov. 21—Today's People's Daily editorial entitled "The international significance of the Soviet-Polish talks" follows in full.

The talks in Moscow between the delegations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government and of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party and the Government of the Polish People's Republic ended successfully on November 18. In their joint statement after the talks, the leaders of the Soviet Union and Poland expressed complete agreement in their views on a number of important current international questions and their common determination to safeguard world peace; and, on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist principle of equality among the peoples of all countries, made many important decisions concerning friendly relations between the two countries.

These talks reflected fraternal relations of mutual respect, confidence and assistance among the socialist countries and the essential principles guiding relations between socialist countries put forward in the October 30 declaration of the Soviet

Government, namely, full equality, respect for territorial inviolability, respect for national independence and sovereignty and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

Comrade Gomulka said on November 18: "The course of our talks with the Soviet Union and the results prove clearly that the Soviet Government declaration of October 30, 1956, is not mere words but something of practical importance which has found expression in the relations established between Poland and the Soviet Union and between the Polish United Workers Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the basis of the socialist principle of complete equality."

The clouds which had gathered between the Soviet Union and Poland and between the two parties have been dissipated and the sun of cooperation has now shone forth. All who have the international socialist cause and world peace at heart will feel delighted.

Great attention was paid during the talks to the economic relations between the two countries. Both parties have decided to build up economic cooperation on the basis of equality, mutual-benefit and fraternal mutual assistance. The Soviet Union has decided to supply Poland with 1,400,000 tons of cereal in the form of credit sales. This is a great help to the Polish people. Besides this, the Soviet Union has agreed to lend Poland 700 million rubles. In the last few years, the Soviet Union has loaned a considerable sum to Poland. Under the present agreement, that part of the Soviet loan used by Poland before November 1 of this year is treated as repaid to make up for the insufficient amount received by Poland in the sale of Polish coal to the Soviet Union from 1946-1953.

The joint statement stressed the importance of the Soviet-Polish alliance which binds the Soviet Union and Poland for good or ill. Taking the present international situation into account, they considered it suitable for Soviet troops to be stationed temporarily on Polish territory. It is well known that the imperialist camp, guided by the U.S., has never ceased subversive activities against all the socialist countries, activities which latterly have become ever more blatant and unrestrained. The aggressive NATO group has established many military bases around the Soviet Union and the people's democracies directed against them. The revanchist forces of militarism in West Germany have been rearmed, seriously threatening the security of Poland and all Europe. It was not long since Adenauer, the West German Chancellor, openly declared that "Germany will never give up its demand for the German territories east of the Oder-Neisse line now under the control of the Polish Government."

In these circumstances, the stationing of Soviet troops within Poland is obviously of importance for the defence of Polish independence, for the security of its western frontiers, its socialist construction and the peaceful life of the people, and for the peace of the whole Europe. No one with any judgment of the present situation will fail to recognise that so long as the aggressive NATO group and its military bases exist, military cooperation and joint measures between the socialist countries to protect their collective security cannot be dispensed with.

But the significance of the Soviet-Polish talks extends far beyond this.

An important international aspect of the Soviet-Polish talks is the vivid example they provide of

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per relations between socialist countries. These have to conform to the principles of full equality, respect for territorial inviolability, respect for national independence and sovereignty, and non-interference in each other's domestic affairs. They must conform to the principles of solidarity and friendship, mutual aid and mutual benefit, and unity to help their economic progress and their opposition to imperialist aggression. But these principles once established do not preclude mistakes offending these principles, such as occurred in the past, recurring in the present or perhaps even in the future. The question therefore is how to deal with such errors, whether they can be corrected firmly and in time so as to check and eliminate their influence with relative ease. The Soviet-Polish talks prove that errors between socialist countries can and must be rectified. There is no doubt that this fact will greatly strengthen the faith of the peoples in the socialist countries and in the whole world in internationalism. In future relations between socialist countries, if only the bigger nations pay more attention to avoiding the mistake of great nation chauvinism (this is essential) and the smaller nations avoid the mistake of nationalism (this is equally essential) friendship and solidarity based on equality will undoubtedly become consolidated and will advance.

The Soviet-Polish talks are a great inspiration for the people of the two countries because they have laid a solid new foundation for friendly relations between them. These friendly relations are indispensable to the security of the Soviet Union and Poland and the well-being of the people. The talks are also an inspiration for the people of the other socialist countries because the masses there are keenly concerned to see friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Poland and their two peoples. They hope that this friendship will continue to grow.

The Soviet-Polish talks will have an excellent effect on the Hungarian people not only because the two nations have expressed a common understanding of the Hungarian situation, but also because the Hungarian people can see the truth of Soviet policy in the outcome of these talks. The Hungarian people can see that Soviet policy towards the People's Democracies is truly one of equality, friendship and mutual assistance, not conquest, aggression and plunder, and that the outpourings of the imperialist propaganda machine are nothing but lies and slanders. Whatever was wrong in the relations between the Soviet Union and Hungary, will be resolutely put right by the Soviet Union which will also strive to do away with the effects of these mistakes as it has done in the case of the Polish comrades. Hungarians with misgivings about Soviet policy and all honest people in the world concerned with the Hungarian events can also see from the outcome of the Soviet-Polish talks that what the Soviet Union has done in Hungary has no purpose other than to help the cause of Socialism there. As soon as the subversive forces of imperialism there are wiped out and social order is fully restored, the Soviet and Hungarian Governments will undoubtedly hold talks on the footing of absolutely equality, similar to the Soviet-Polish talks, and make arrangements as regards the Soviet forces in Hungary that fully conform to Hungarian independence and sovereignty.

Imperialism and reaction throughout the world are sparing no efforts to use the recent events in

Eastern Europe to destroy the socialist camp and the socialist movement in all countries. This situation calls to mind the old saying: "Come wind or weather, we are together." All the socialist countries, all the socialist parties and all socialists in the world are ploughing the same furrow. We are all battling through difficulties to reach a common goal. In face of the enemy, we have no alternative but to build sincere unity between our socialist ranks, between countries and parties, and within each country and each party, so that we can reach our great common goal. Let us act in a way that contributes to unity, speak in the interests of unity, settle misunderstandings and differences by negotiation taking the overall situation into account and deferring to the general interest. Let us not take rash or violent action that leaves no leeway and shows no regard for consequences, that impairs the unity of international socialism. Let us not stir up internal conflicts and divisions. Such is the policy that will be welcomed by and win the hearts of the people.

The Soviet-Polish talks show that many misunderstandings and differences between Marxists can, in fact, be eliminated or minimised on the basis of unity and through negotiation, with mutual understanding and mutual concessions and also through appropriate criticism and self-criticism. We hope that the socialist forces of the world will continue to develop this atmosphere, will cherish unity, will strengthen unity and item

112039 Rumanian Journalists, Students Condemn Western Slanders

Peking, Nov. 20 — Rumanian journalists and university students at meetings in Bucharest have come out with protests at the provocative slanders against Rumania by Western press agencies and radio stations, according to Agerpres reports on Sunday.

They condemn the slanderous lies spread by the United Press, Associated Press, the Voice of America and Radio "Free Europe" about so-called disturbances in Rumania, "clashed between students and police" and "student demonstrations in Rumania."

The Editor of Scinteia said at a meeting of journalists that after an interview with him, the New York Times correspondent sent to the American paper a dispatch fraught with distortions of facts and fabrications. Besides, the American correspondent sent a number of false stories about Rumania.

The Editor of Scinteia pointed out that such distorted stories carried by the New York Times were further exaggerated by the Voice of America and Radio "Free Europe" in their mud-slinging campaign against the Rumanian People's Republic and people. They made much fuss about non-existent things for the purpose of poisoning the international atmosphere and provoking excitement.

He said that certain international forces of reaction which have encouraged and supported counter-revolutionary crimes in Hungary were entertaining the hope that slander and lies could incite similar tension in other places.

At a university students' gathering in Bucharest, a student said the imperialist agents alleged that "the college students in Sibiu took actions against the people's democratic regime". But in fact early

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in 1945, the medical and pharmaceutical college in Sibiu had moved to Cluj.

The students present demanded resolute counter-attacks against such provocative rumours and those who instigated for these plots. They also expressed their warm support of the Rumanian Government and Workers' Party for providing the satisfactory conditions under which the students lived and studied.

The Rumanian journalists also urged all upright journalists to write articles exposing those engaged in the slanderous campaign so that the real aims of the international reactionary elements would be disclosed to the public end item

112040 Nehru Urges China's Seat in U.N.

New Delhi, Nov. 20—Prime Minister Nehru said here this afternoon that India had worked for inclusion of China in the United Nations "not only because we have thought it right but because not doing so is very harmful, more harmful to the world than China itself".

Winding up a two-day debate on foreign affairs in the House of the People, Nehru said that "progressively China is kept out, harm to the world is greater."

"We consider this matter is of utmost significance to the world itself and we consider it utterly and absolutely wrong to go on keeping China outside the United Nations," he added.

"On my part, I am convinced if China were there, many of the problems in the Far East might not have taken place."

Earlier in his speech, Nehru said that "in about less than 10 days the Prime Minister of China is coming here, a leader of a great nation, our neighbour, and a very important person and a very able person."

"This is how we function in the international sphere," he noted. "We meet in a friendly way a great leader of the United States. We meet in a friendly way a prominent leader of new China and in a sense to a slight extent we become a link of peoples who do not otherwise meet. This is the service we can do, simply because we have been so placed," he stated end item end service

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CHINA

1056

FROM

Peking

No. 717

Dated 13 Decem ber, 1956

Received in
Registry—

17/12

References to former relevant papers

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15/10/57

References to later relevant papers

Chinese attitude to events in Hungary
no change since November 3.

MINUTES.

Mr. Figg (I.R.D.) is considering using the obviously
hypocritical statement in Peking no. 718 for anti-
communist propaganda in the M.E.

P. 17/12

P. 17/12

a) Peking no. 718 of December 13.

P. 19/12

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Mr. Addis

No: 717

December 13, 1956.

D: 9.08 a.m. December 13, 1956.

R: 4.40 p.m. December 13, 1956.

CONFIDENTIAL

FC 1022/44

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No: 717 of December 13

Repeated for information to: Singapore.

Bangkok.

Bangkok telegram No: 572: Chinese Attitude to Events in Hungary.

There has been no change since November 3, when the Chinese Press came out in full support of Soviet intervention. My immediately following telegram contains quotation from an editorial in the People's Daily of December 6 referring to Soviet action.

Foreign Office please pass Singapore and Bangkok as my telegrams Nos: 140 and 4.

[Repeated to Singapore and Bangkok]

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C1022/44^(A)No. 718

D. 9.22 a.m. December 13, 1956

December 13, 1956

R. 4.40 p.m. December 13, 1956

Addressed to Foreign Office telegram No. 718 of December 13.
Repeated for information Bangkok and Singapore.

My immediately preceding telegram.

Following is quotation.

"Thus the Soviet Union is the true friend of the Hungarian people, a resolute defender of freedom, independence and peace, and a great example of internationalism which does not hesitate to make sacrifices and to shed its own blood in the interest of the proletariat".

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M. Lee

10 March 1986

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